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The Editors: **WHICH MARRIAGE AMENDMENT?**

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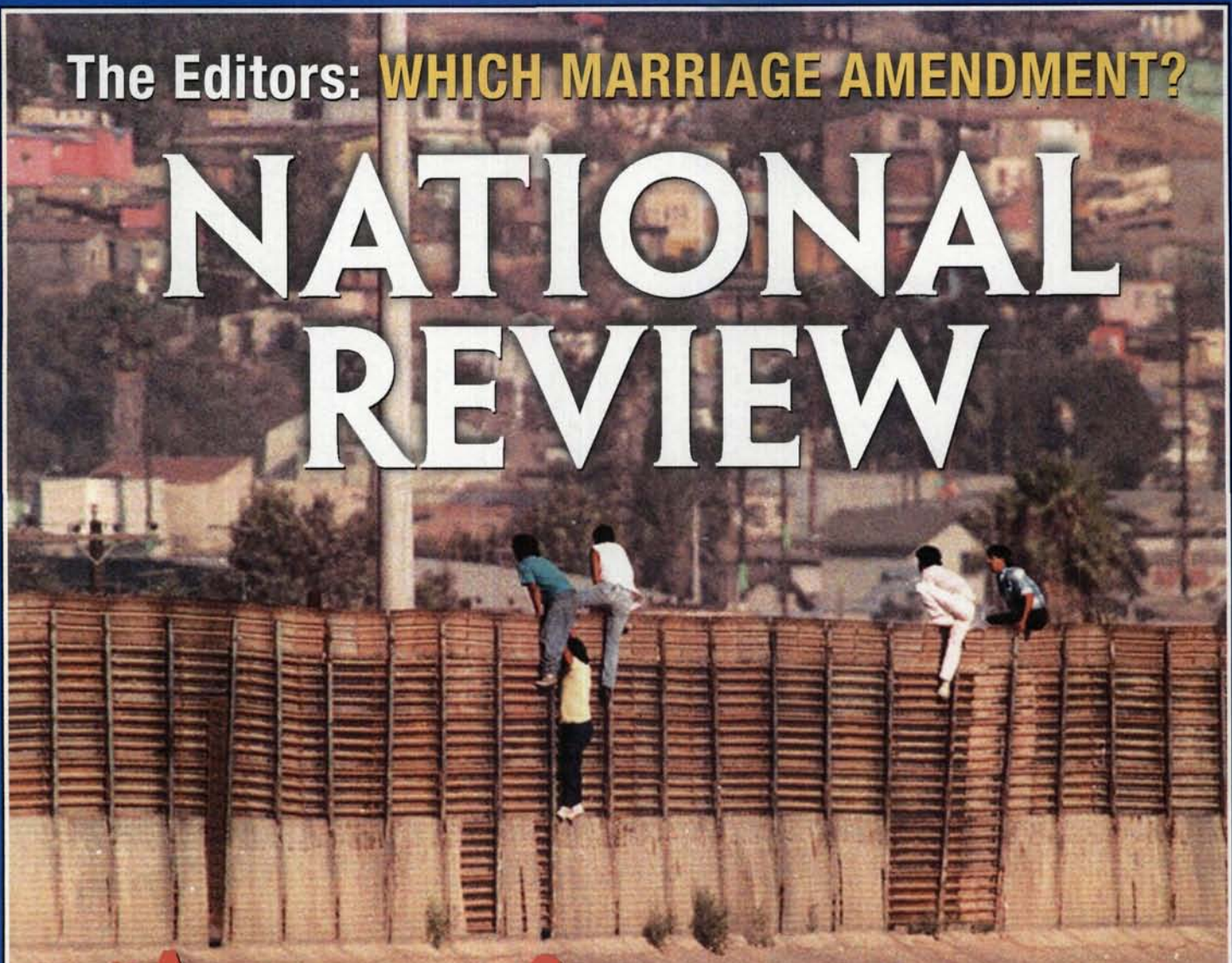

Against AMNESTY

Mark Krikorian on a policy disaster

PLUS:

Byron York **Dean v. Gephardt in Iowa**

Jay Nordlinger **Wesley Clark v. reality**

Rob Long **The Bushes v. the Deans**

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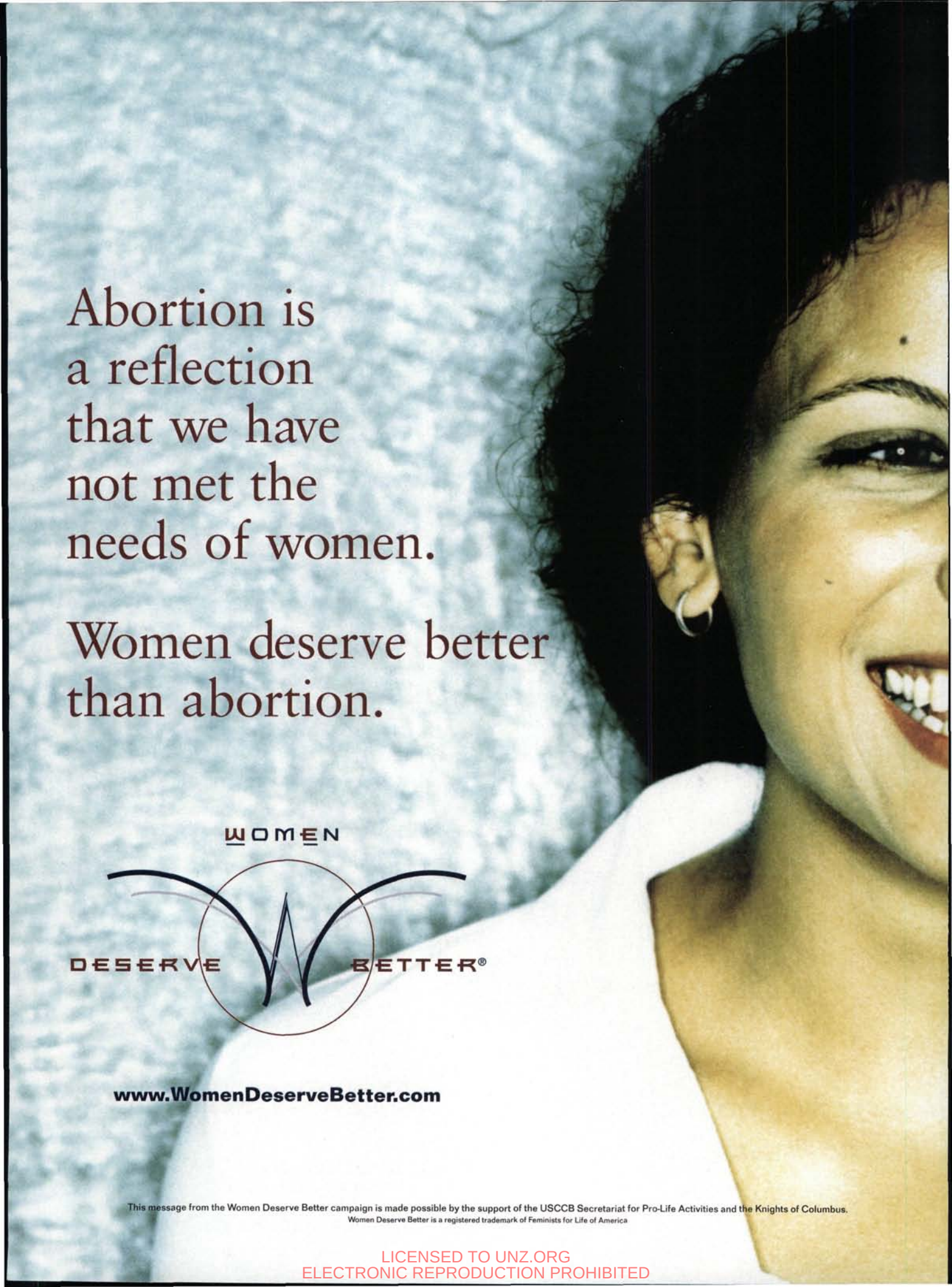
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JANUARY 26, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 1

NATIONAL REVIEW

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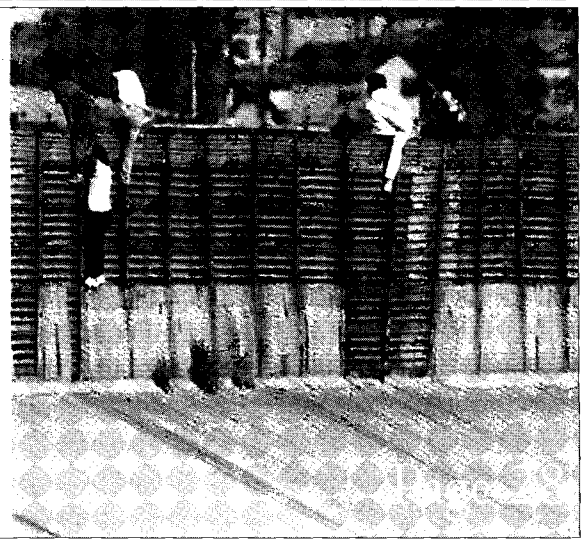
■ COVER STORY

Amnesty, Again

President Bush has kicked off his reelection year by proposing an amnesty for illegal aliens dressed up as a guest-worker program, plus the importation of millions of new guest workers and a significant increase in immigration. What is the White House thinking? *By Mark Krikorian*



ARTICLES

22 **Arnold's New Role** *by Stephen Moore*
Schwarzenegger has his hands full in Sacramento.

24 **Agendas All Their Own** *by Kate O'Beirne*
The perils of NGOs—non-governmental organizations.

26 **Golden Days of the Black Arts** *by David Pryce-Jones*
'Human intelligence,' the right way.

28 **Amnesty, Again** *by Mark Krikorian*
This country should have learned—apparently, it has not.

32 **Giving Iowa a Try** *by Byron York*
Gephardt vs. Dean, amid the corn.

36 **A General's Campaign** *by Jay Nordlinger*
Kucinich, Moseley Braun, and Sharpton were supposed to be the kook candidates—have you been following Wesley Clark?

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 For the Record
6 The Week
16 Notes & Asides
39 The Long View
40 Help!
47 Poetry
54 On the Right
56 Happy Warrior

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

44 **Rediscovering the Family**—*Allan Carlson* . . . The Two-Income Trap: Why Middle Class Mothers and Fathers Are Going Broke (With Surprising Solutions That Will Change Our Children's Futures), *by Elizabeth Warren and Amelia Warren Tyagi*

46 **Epic of the West**—*Robert Louis Wilken* . . . The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, 200-1000 AD, *by Peter Brown*

48 **The Fat Police**—*Andrew Stuttaford* . . . Food Fight: The Inside Story of the Food Industry, America's Obesity Crisis, and What We Can Do About It, *by Kelly D. Brownell and Katherine Battle Horgen*

49 **America's Path**—*Jeffrey Hart* . . . The Pursuit of Happiness in Times of War, *by Carl M. Cannon*

50 **Shelf Life: Manji vs. the Mullahs**—Michael Potemra on a fearless Muslim author with a compelling tale of truth.

52 **City Desk: Space: The Final Frontier**—Richard Brookhiser on hoarding and hiding in 850 square feet.

COVER: *Lenny Ignelzi/AP*

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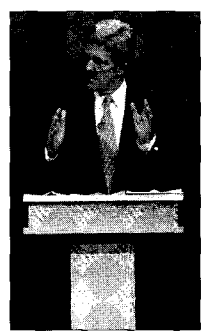
letters to the editor

A UNION BLOWS SMOKE

I was nearly through Richard Lowry's excellent article on the woebegone John Kerry ("The Bust," Dec. 31) when I came across his observation that "the New Hampshire firefighters have endorsed Kerry." Actually, the main firefighters' *union*, the International Association of Firefighters, has endorsed Kerry, and I suppose at least some of the locals in New Hampshire have as well. As anyone who knows firefighters at all might suspect, an awful lot of us are supporters of President Bush. It's just that the union, of which I am a member, pretends that all of us march in lockstep for the Democrats. They did the same with Gore in 2000, and I'm sure many remember the ubiquitous "Firefighters for Gore" T-shirts from that year. It all has to do with money, union power, and the AFL-CIO. Naturally, letters to IAFF publications pointing out any diversity of political opinion are never welcomed or published.



Bill Brockman
Atlanta, Ga.

A HEALTHY INVESTMENT

The United States spends more per capita on medical care than any other industrialized nation. We spend two and a half times more than Great Britain; and we spend 13 percent of our GDP on health care, compared with the 8 percent spent by European countries—all for roughly the same amount of physician care and hospital services. American spending on drugs? $556 per person, versus $262 in Europe. Yet we still rank 19th or 20th in overall health: We die younger; we are sicker here than in our peer countries; our infant-mortality rate is 50 percent higher.

Given the far greater impact of public-health spending overseas, I wonder where the evidence is behind Stephen Moore's attack on Uncle Sam ("The Week," Dec. 31). It's not from Medicare—this federally funded, completely portable insurance plan spends 98 cents of every dollar on medical care compared with the 80 cents that commercial health plans spend (that's $55 billion plus in extra administration costs). Nor is it from Medicaid, which, despite insuring the sickest population, has experienced similar and perhaps lower annual inflation rates than commercial plans.

And were the 1940s an Elysian period for health care, as Moore's article suggests? True, the United States has invested heavily in public health since then, building more hospitals, producing the best-trained doctors in the world, developing new drugs, sanitizing and fluoridating water, and instituting immunization programs. Was there something wrong in that? Of course not—we have results. We've eradicated polio and smallpox. We rarely die from pneumonia or the flu. Crude surgical practices have advanced such that appendicitis need not kill us. Cancer is no longer a death sentence. We now live 30 years longer.

I think we can allow the government, then, to share some credit for our successes.

Tom Adelson
Oklahoma Secretary of Health
Oklahoma City, Okla.

X? NAY!

Jay Nordlinger's piece, "December's C-Word" (Dec. 31), cleverly yet seriously expresses my feelings and those of many other "Neanderthals." But one disrespectful habit of our times was overlooked: substituting "X" for "Christ." Have we become so lazy and frugal that we must save five letters? I have campaigned among my friends and relatives for years to "Keep Christ in Christmas"—alas, with limited success. Articles like Nordlinger's, though, will certainly help the cause.

William Wolf
Fontana, Wis.

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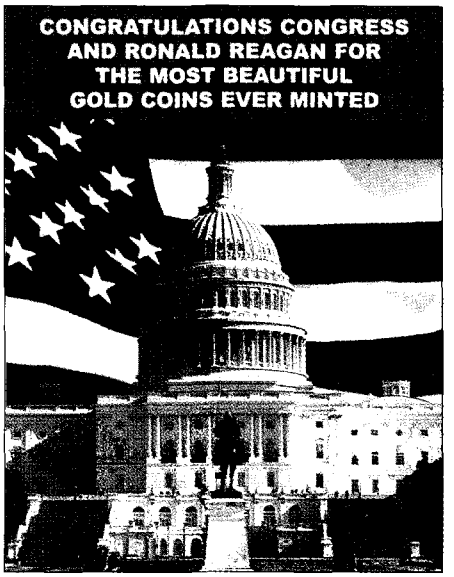

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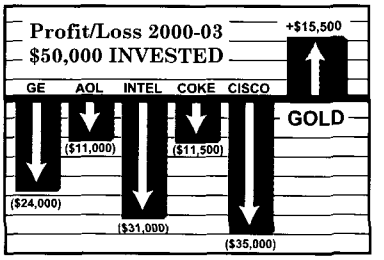

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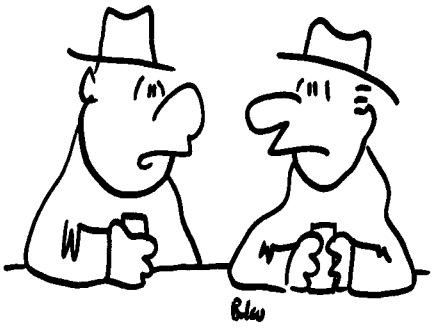

"Last month she said she'd marry me, but now I'm being challenged in the primaries."

■ In CBS News poll, President **Bush** earns 60 percent approval rating, up from 49 percent in November. . . . In CNN/*USA Today* poll, 62 percent say it was worth going to war in Iraq. . . . Bush on Libya's decision to disarm nuclear program: "Libya has begun the process of rejoining the community of nations. . . . Our understanding with Libya came about through quiet diplomacy. It is a result, however, of policies and principles declared to all." . . . State Department plans to build its largest diplomatic mission in Baghdad, with staff of 3,000 people. Says **Colin Powell** in *Washington Post*: "As I build up that large embassy, I've got to also generate more international support, U.N. presence—get the U.N. back in there in force." . . . In *USA Today*/CNN poll, Bush is most admired man and Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.) is most admired woman. . . . **Brian M. Riedl** of Heritage Foundation, in *New York Times*: "President Bush is not focusing on his fiscal conservative base right now. He's trying to position himself in between conservatives in Congress and the Democratic party. It may be good politics, but it's bad policy, a lost opportunity to get runaway government spending under control."

■ **Howard Dean** on Bush presidency: "not only a failure, but the most dangerous administration in my lifetime." . . . More Dean, in *Concord Monitor*: "I still have this old-fashioned notion that even with people like **Osama**, who is very likely to be found guilty, we should do our best not to, in positions of executive power, not to prejudge jury trials." . . . Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.): "Democrats need to offer something stronger than what George Bush is offering. We need to offer something stronger than Howard Dean's comment that America is not safer with **Saddam Hussein** behind bars." . . . Dean says Democrats should stop criticizing him, in *New York Times*: "If we had strong leadership in the Democratic party, they would be calling those other candidates and saying, 'Hey look, somebody's going to have to win here.'" . . . As Dean promises to raise minimum wage to $7 per hour (from $5.15), Rep. **Dick Gephardt** (D., Mo.) proposes "international minimum wage." . . . Gephardt also says federal contractors should hire more disabled people. . . . "He's not dumb," says Gephardt of Bush, in *Washington Post*, "but he is not informed and he's not experienced and he hasn't surrounded himself with the right people to give him the information and the experience that he doesn't have. And he worries me." . . . Kerry raises mere $2 million in fourth quarter of 2003. . . . **Ralph Nader** says he won't run for president on Green party ticket. . . . Dean, in *Boston Globe*: "Dealing with race is about educating white folks."

■ Hillary at Florida fundraiser, according to Associated Press: "I shouldn't take it personally. Because what [the Bush] administration was attempting to do was turn back the progress of the entire 20th century. They were not just after **Bill Clinton**—they wanted to undo **Jimmy Carter**, **Lyndon Johnson**, **John Kennedy**, **Harry Truman**, **Franklin Roosevelt**. . . . They were on their way to **Teddy Roosevelt**." . . . As NAFTA reaches tenth anniversary, Pew Research poll find 34 percent of Americans calling it a "good thing," 33 percent a "bad thing," and 33 percent not sure.

■ As supporters of **Ward Connerly**'s Michigan Civil Rights Initiative banning racial preferences plan to begin collecting signatures for ballot placement in January, EPIC/MRA poll shows 58 percent approval. . . . In Texas, women seeking abortions must now wait 24 hours and be given information about abortion risks and fetal development. . . . National Endowment for the Arts awards $35,000 to subsidize musical about murder of fashion designer **Gianni Versace**. . . . Pope **John Paul II** on **Mel Gibson**'s forthcoming film *The Passion*, according to *Wall Street Journal*: "It is as it was." . . . NR accepting applications for a summer internship. Interested college students should apply to Internship, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10016.

■ British prime minister **Tony Blair** makes surprise visit to Iraq. "This conflict here was a conflict of enormous importance because Iraq was a test case," he tells troops at Basra. "If we backed away from that, we would never be able to confront this threat in the other countries where it exists." . . . U.N. nuclear-weapons inspector **Mohamed ElBaradei** says Libya was probably three to seven years away from producing bomb. . . . Japan announces intention to buy U.S.-made missile-defense system. . . . In Burundi, rebels assassinate Vatican official, Archbishop **Michael Courtney**. . . . At event honoring Haiti's bicentennial, President **Jean-Bertrand Aristide** calls his country "the mother of liberty." . . . Brazilian judge **Julier Sebastiao da Silva** on American plans to require fingerprints of Brazilians visiting U.S., quoted by Reuters: "I consider the act absolutely brutal, threatening human rights, violating human dignity, xenophobic and worthy of the worst horrors committed by the Nazis."

■ **Jay Leno**: "Right now in Iowa, Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry is driving around in a big bus he's calling 'The Real Deal Express'—he says his campaign is going out to where people are working and he's meeting people who normally wouldn't go to a campaign rally. That's not campaigning. Isn't that called bothering people?" **NR**

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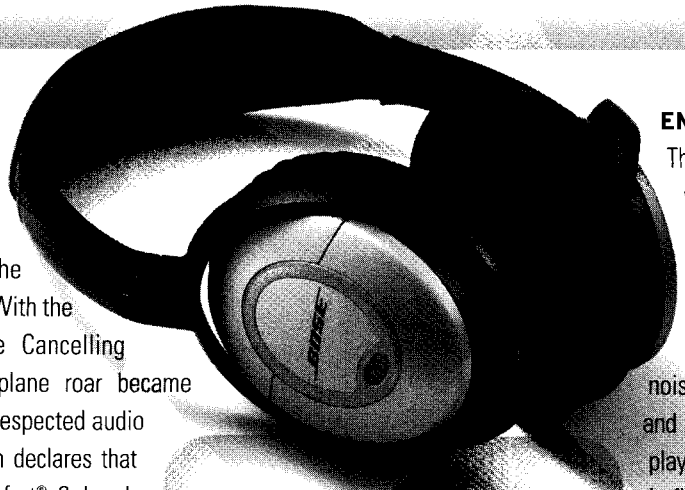

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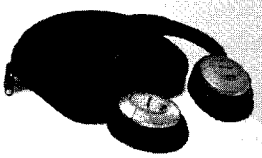

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THE WEEK

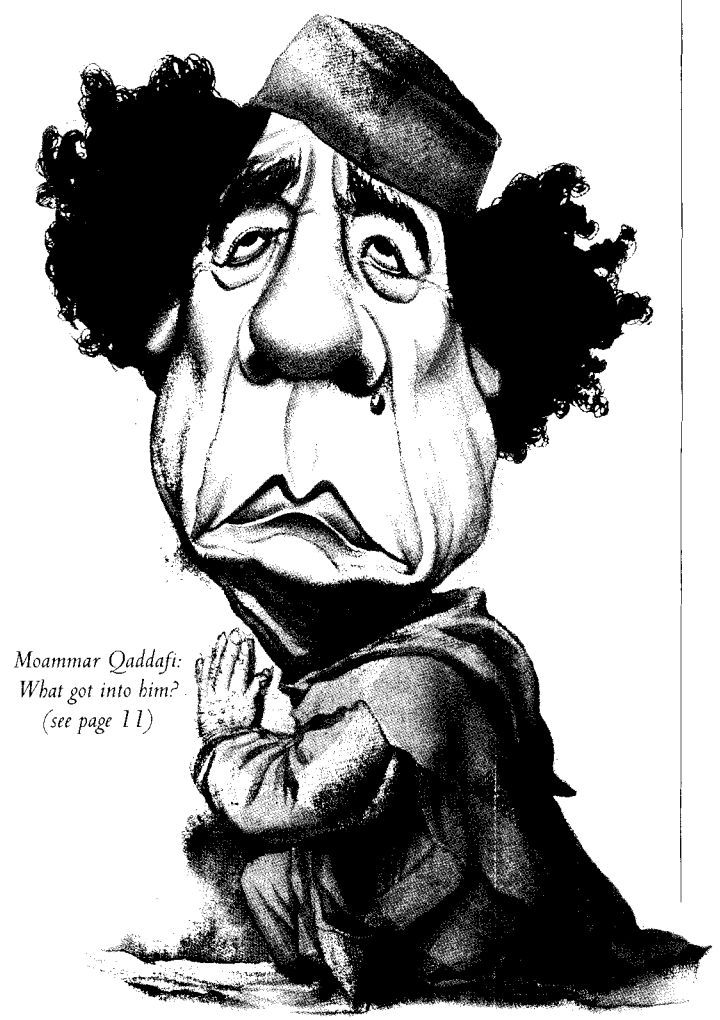
■ Asked what his favorite book of the New Testament was, Howard Dean answered, Job, thus disproving the old saw that the devil can quote Scripture.

■ Hot Howard Dean was asked by the *Concord Monitor* where Osama bin Laden should be tried, and whether he should be executed, and suddenly the peppery front-runner got cool and analytical. "I've resisted pronouncing a sentence before guilt is found," said Dean. "I still have this old-fashioned notion that even with people like Osama, who is very likely to be found guilty, we should do our best not to . . . prejudge jury trials." What Dean should have said is that, for a range of offenses, from larceny to serial murder and treason, we have jury trials. For offenses of the magnitude of war, we wage war in return. In 2001 Congress authorized the executive to attack and topple the Afghan regime that Osama had colonized like a virus. Our soldiers, and the soldiers of our allies, hunt Osama's allies and minions to this day. When they find them, they don't serve warrants. Come on, Howard, connect with your emotions—pretend it's all about a bike path.

■ Dean complained to DNC chairman Terry McAuliffe that his rivals for the nomination were criticizing him. "If we had strong leadership in the Democratic party, they would be calling those other candidates and saying, 'Hey, look, somebody's going to have to win here.'" One thinks back on recent primary battles—Bush vs. McCain, Gore vs. Bradley, Buchanan vs. everybody—and gapes. If Dean doesn't know that politics is a contact sport, perhaps he should stay cloistered in Vermont.

■ The Democrats have picked up a particular trope: that if they were president, "somebody from Enron would be in jail right now." Kerry is saying it, Edwards is saying it. Do they know that they're running for president of the United States, not dictator of some police state, where they could pluck people from their homes and lock them away? Besides, someone from Enron *is* in jail: treasurer Ben Glisan Jr; and six others have pleaded guilty and are cooperating with the authorities. Oh, by the way, they also say (some variation of), "My first act as president will be to fire John Ashcroft." That's interesting to hear: because, so often, attorneys general are held over from one administration to another, especially when a different party takes power.

■ Former Marine Corps general Anthony C. Zinni is a critic of the Iraq war. Saddam Hussein "was contained," Zinni told the *Washington Post* in a recent interview. "He had a deteriorated military. He wasn't a threat to the region."



ROMAN GENN

Moammar Qaddafi: What got into him? *(see page 11)*

That is a view—a wrong one. But Zinni, who thinks it both right and obvious, must then explain why the Bush administration does not espouse it. "The more I saw, the more I thought that this was the product of the neocons who didn't understand the region . . . Somehow, the neocons captured the president. They captured the vice president." But George W. Bush identified Iraq, along with Iran and North Korea, as a dangerous rogue state when he was campaigning for office in 1999 (then he thought their missile programs would be threats). So why does Zinni think Bush was "captured"? Could it be because Bush and Cheney are Chr******s, while neocons are J**s? Is Zinni d**b, or worse?

■ Bob Kerrey—former (Democratic) senator from Nebraska, Vietnam veteran and amputee, and now president of New School University in New York (and member of the

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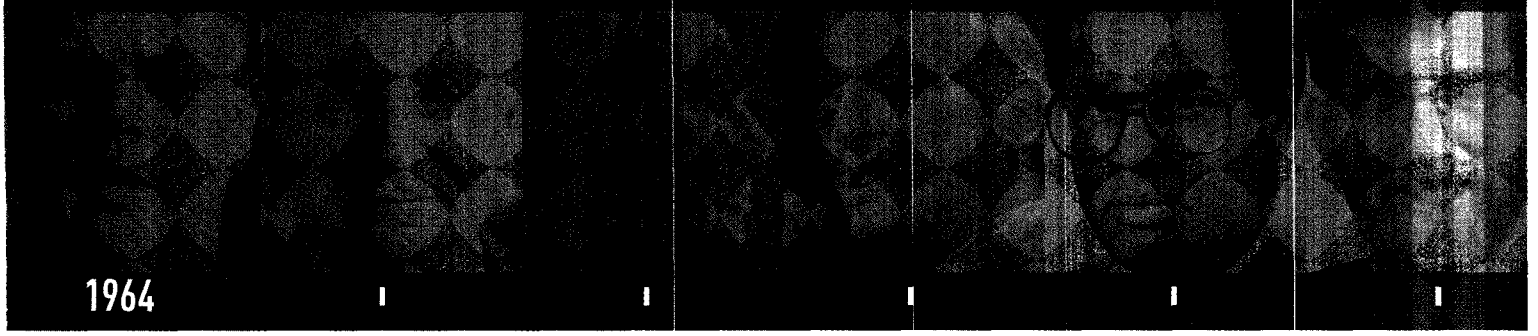

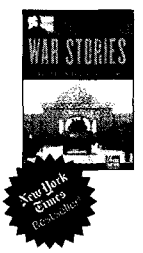

War Stories: Operation Iraqi Freedom—The Courics and Koppels of the world are trying to take away our victory in Iraq, but Oliver North knows better. He was there. In *War Stories: Operation Iraqi Freedom* he sweeps aside the second-hand chatter of liberal pundits to give you an eyewitness account of the heroism, courage, and patriotism of the American military forces that ended Saddam Hussein's bloody tyranny.

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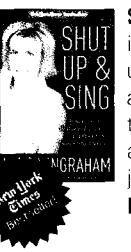

Shut Up & Sing—In this refreshing and insightful look at the elites, Laura Ingraham unmasks the shallowness of elite thinking and reveals that it is they, not us, who are the stupid ones - and that loudmouth liberals like Barbra Streisand would do better to just "shut up and sing."

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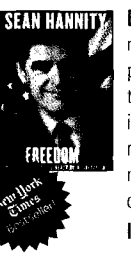

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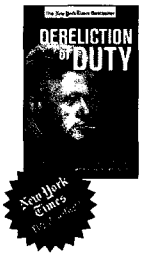

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THE WEEK...

9/11 Commission)—gave a fascinating interview to the *New York Sun*. Of the Iraq war, he said, "It breaks my heart whenever anybody dies, but we liberated 25 million people who were living under a dictator. It puts us on the side of democracy in the Arab world. Twenty years from now, we'll be hard-pressed to find anyone who says it wasn't worth the effort." He also opined that, instead of confiscating knives, airport security should be handing them out to people as they board planes—the better to thwart hijackers. Former Senator Kerrey is not the voice of the Democratic party, and not—very much not—to be confused with that current Senator Kerry.

■ The Bush administration is putting out the word that its next budget will really be tough on domestic spending. We will believe it when the money's finished being spent. So far, the proposed cuts do not look promising. The administration's record on domestic spending—boosting it, and then fiddling with the numbers to take in gullible conservatives—has not inspired a great deal of trust. We will know Bush is serious about controlling spending and shrinking the federal government if he takes an axe to corporate welfare. The federal government spends billions guaranteeing corporations' overseas investments and helping them market their products abroad. We are all for American companies' success abroad, but it should be on their own dimes. If he chose to take on corporate welfare, Bush could get Congress to go along. "Spending cuts" that don't include corporate welfare, on the other hand, are likely to be boob bait for conservatives.

Perhaps the American people are beginning to tire of green doomsayers.

The discovery of a single case of mad cow disease has become the biggest story since our troops captured the Butcher of Baghdad. Fanning the flames are environmental and animal-rights activists, who hate the "corporate agriculture" that has made American beef the tastiest and cheapest in the world, and who see dinner as an occasion for political correctness. As they try to make a visionary of the vegan evangelist who told Oprah that mad cow would "make AIDS look like the common cold," sales of burgers and steaks have remained steady. Perhaps the American people are beginning to tire of green doomsayers and their inevitably false predictions. The risk of contracting mad cow disease is "as close to zero as you can get," according to Harvard researchers. The USDA figures your chances at about 1 in 10 billion—Powerball-sized numbers. To the surprise of no one, Howard Dean still managed to blame the Bush administration.

■ A federal appeals court has ordered Jose Padilla, detained in Chicago after allegedly plotting with al-Qaeda to detonate a dirty bomb in the U.S., to be released within 30 days unless he is charged with a crime in civilian court. Up to now, Padilla has been held, without charge, as an enemy combatant in military detention. The court pays lip service in its decision to the idea that the U.S. is at war, but it can't really believe it. If the president has the authority to order enemy combatants killed, why can't he merely have them detained? The court makes a distinction between combatants seized abroad—such as Yaser Hamdi, whose military detention has been upheld by another federal court—and those captured on U.S. soil. But the war in which we are engaged does not magically stop at the U.S. border. There is a large hole in downtown Manhattan that speaks to this point. The decision will almost certainly be overturned by the Supreme Court, as it should be.

■ On December 30, NBC aired footage of Army privates Jessica Lynch and Lori Piestewa in custody, filmed by Saddam's state television following the ambush of their maintenance company last March. Both bandaged young women appear seriously hurt, with Lynch apparently unconscious and Piestewa, who died shortly afterward, grimacing in pain when her battered face is roughly repositioned for the camera. She looks as though she has been beaten. Spec. Shoshana Johnson, who too had been a POW, had a strange reaction on the NBC show. Perhaps intending to reassure the audience, she said that seeing Piestewa loosely bandaged "gave me a little peace to know that they tried, they did their best for her." The disturbing images provide no such peace. As revealed in the recent book about her ordeal, Jessica Lynch was raped upon capture. Whether Lori Piestewa's fatal injuries resulted from the convoy assault or at the hands of her Iraqi captors is unknown. Unfortunately, the little attention the shocking video received indicates that precious few people want to know.

■ "Today we celebrate the possible in our state," said New Jersey governor Jim McGreevey as he signed the bill. What is now possible in his state is to create a human embryo through cloning, to pay a woman to allow it to be implanted in her womb, to let the clone develop for eight months, and then to sell the cloned fetus or its parts to be used in research—all with the authorization of the state. The bill was not advertised as allowing such monstrosities, of course. It was presented as a way to promote stem-cell research. But the text of the new law clearly allows much more than that. Its proponents never bothered to refute the point. Note how far we have expanded the definition of the "possible" in a few short years. In 2001, we were told to allow research on embryos that had been abandoned at fertility clinics. The embryos had already been created, and would never develop into babies. But—supporters of such

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research insisted—we would never create human embryos for the purpose of doing research on them. So said Sen. Arlen Specter, among others. A year later, Specter was a co-sponsor of a bill to allow cloning in order to create human embryos for research purposes. But even so, we were told, there would be strict limits. No research would be permitted after the embryos were 14 days old, and it would be illegal to implant the embryo in a womb. Sen. Orrin Hatch, one of Specter's co-sponsors, made much of these restrictions. Now, in 2004, a state has passed a law that authorizes research when the embryo has become an eight-month-old fetus in the womb. None of the people who told us that they took the moral objections very seriously, and wanted strict limits, and would never tolerate fetal harvesting, has said a word in rebuke of the law. At the bill signing, Christopher Reeve said, "Whenever something truly great is accomplished, its birth is always attended by controversy and antagonism and naysayers. And then, years later, we look back and wonder what all the fuss was about." His prediction may be right: Years from now, we may wonder what all the fuss was about. If so, it will be because our moral sensibilities have been dulled. Yet more.

■ According to a few deep thinkers, President Bush's triumph in Libya—getting Moammar Qaddafi to agree to a verified end to his nuclear-arms program—is actually a triumph for Bush's opponents. How do you figure? Because it was a victory for the "discreet diplomacy and engagement which has been the European Commission's consistent approach," says the commission's president, Romano Prodi. Because President Bush had to abandon his penchant for the unilateral use of force and go to the negotiating table, says John Kerry. You may recall when the president swore off diplomacy and negotiation. No? The real difference between Bush and his critics is that he gives due weight to the fact that negotiation is not always possible, and understands that it matters from what position the negotiating begins. The invasion of Iraq was the crucial backdrop to our diplomacy. We held the better hand. A Smith & Wesson always beats four aces.

■ Lately, it seems Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf cannot take a ride in his motorcade without suffering an assassination attempt. While the prospect of losing the generally pro-Western Musharraf is unnerving, he has been in a stiff competition with the Saudis to prove who is the most unreliable U.S. ally. Pakistan in recent years has provided nuclear help to practically every rogue state with dreams of going atomic. Meanwhile, Musharraf has tried to straddle both the U.S. and his country's increasingly powerful Islamists in a disastrously shortsighted political strategy. One of Musharraf's would-be assassins was associated with a Kashmiri militant group that was officially banned but whose leader was making public speaking tours as recently as October. A fundamentalist group set up by Pakistani intelligence, Laskhar-e-Taiba, has been cooperating with al-Qaeda, which has been implicated in the Musharraf attacks. Musharraf has a choice: seriously crack down on the militants or lose control of his country and perhaps his life. It should be obvious what is in our interest, and his.

■ In the chaos following the capture of Baghdad, a German journalist entered the abandoned premises of the Al-Bashair Trading Company and took away about 800 pages of files. He has since cooperated with the *Los Angeles Times*, which has had all the documents translated, and used the material in the Mother of All Scoops. No ordinary company, Al-Bashair was Saddam Hussein's leading arms-procurement agency, with a sideline in money-laundering. In contracts worth hundreds of millions of dollars, Al-Bashair bought missiles, telecommunications equipment, weapons, and ammunition from a dozen countries, including Russia, Poland, and both Koreas. All such deals defied United Nations sanctions. Confronted with the evidence, the guilty salesmen simply shrug. But the most damning aspect of all this is Syria's involvement. A Syrian company, SES International Corporation, facilitated more than 50 procurement contracts, taking delivery of the material under false documentation, and transferring it all to Iraq, skimming off percentages on the way. SES is headed by a cousin of Syrian president Bashar Assad, and it is inconceivable that Assad did not know about this dirty business—Syria is a dictatorship of family and clan as Iraq was under Saddam. Munir Awad, formerly Al-Bashair's director general, has fled to Syria, where he is living "under government protection," according to an intelligence report in Washington. Caught red-handed, the Syrian regime must decide whether to quit the "axis of evil" or face the consequences of cementing its place there.

■ George Bush put Iran in the Axis of Evil for a reason. It seeks nuclear weapons and aids other rogue states in doing so. It supports terrorists in Lebanon, Israel, and the West Bank, and slyly aided al-Qaeda and (despite a calamitous war) Saddam Hussein. It sacked an American embassy and imprisoned American citizens for over a year. Why then should the American government offer assistance in the wake of the Bam earthquake, in the form of a mission head-

Dean's Balloon

John Kerry points, empurpled.
Lieberman waves and warns.
Gephardt, still clinging to a rope,
Kicks—injuring his corns.
They scream, but nothing happens:
Dean's airbag never pops,
Though every day his bloopers burst
Like Mrs. Malaprop's.

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—Dean Rieck,
Direct Marketing magazine
April 2000

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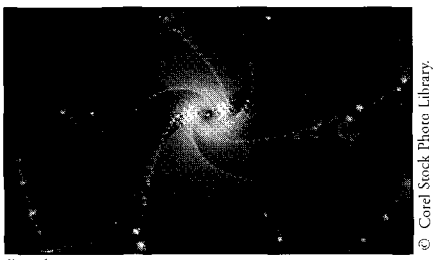

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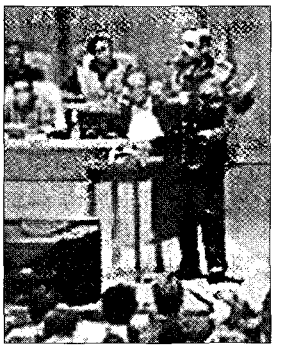
THE WEEK...

ed by Sen. Elizabeth Dole? Dictatorships can differ in their details. Like Gorbachev's Soviet Union, Iran enjoys a measure of freedom unknown in Iraq until yesterday, or in North Korea today. This freedom, and the oppression and blunders of the rulers, have produced a level of popular dissent which the regime is unable or unwilling to crush totally. A helping hand from the Great Satan would be one more crack in a haggard theocratic worldview. For that reason, the mullahs rejected the offer—which added another, perhaps worse crack to the façade of their rule.

■ Before the U.N. in March, Kofi Annan declared, "We are living through a moment of deep divisions . . . You [the Security Council] have it in your power to deepen those divisions, or to begin to heal them. I appeal to all of you to choose the latter course." Annan should practice what he preaches; he and anti-war member states don't want to aid Iraq as long as the U.S. maintains a military presence there. Thankfully Hoshyar Zebari, Iraq's interim foreign minister, condemned this smallness before the Security Council: "Settling scores with the United States-led coalition should not be at the cost of helping to bring stability to the Iraqi people." And for the record: "The U.N. as an organization failed to help rescue the Iraqi people from a murderous tyranny that lasted over 35 years, and today we are unearthing thousands of victims in horrifying testament to that failure." Reportedly Annan "appeared taken aback" by Zebari's stirring comments, retorting that "now is not the time to pin blame and point fingers." Oh? When would be?

■ Egypt aspires to be an honest broker between Israel and the Palestinians. To that end, its foreign minister Ahmed Maher went to Jerusalem to confer with Israelis, including Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. All went well. Maher is a man of 68, and in the manner of senior Egyptian officials, eminently respectable and self-controlled. After his meetings, Maher visited Al Aqsa mosque, in a precinct sacred to Muslims and Jews, hence at the core of the trouble—a visit there by Sharon in 2000 is central to local demonology. As Maher entered the mosque, Islamist extremists set upon him, shouting "Collaborator!" and "Traitor!" and pelting him with shoes. His Egyptian security guards and Israeli police protected him from serious injury, but Maher has a weak heart and was heard to say more than once, "I'm going to choke." A photograph went round the world of the poor man caught by the mob, his mouth wide open and his eyes popping out of his head with dread. An ambulance took him to an Israeli hospital, where Sharon soon rang him to say he was sorry to hear what had happened. Palestinian officials speak of their shame at the incident, and to make amends they have invited Maher to return and address their legislature in Ramallah. But Palestinians have evidently created for themselves a sort of mass psychosis which makes it hard to recognize even fellow Arabs who would like to help.

■ Something happened in Cuba that ought to thrill the heart of every freedom-lover. On the front page of *Granma*—Cuba's *Pravda*—a picture of Fidel Castro appeared, as usual. But not as usual: Someone—some glorious, perhaps doomed someone—had doctored the photo subtly to make the Maximum Leader look a little like an earlier maximum leader: Adolf Hitler. When this staggeringly audacious prank was discovered, the regime did everything possible to confiscate all copies. And the prank received little press coverage internationally. But this was one of the most daring acts imaginable in a totalitarian society, something worthy of Orwell. If the photo-alterer is discovered, he will almost certainly be tortured and killed. That fate has befallen many who have done less. But this Cuban will live in the annals of anti-totalitarian dissent.



■ David Frost once tried to encapsulate all the obsessions of English tabloid readers in a single imaginary headline. It came out something like: SEX-CHANGE VICAR IN MERCY DASH TO PALACE CORGIS. Well, one of the Queen's pet corgis ("a short-legged long-backed dog with foxy head"—Webster's *Third*) could have used that vicar on December 22nd last, when Princess Anne came calling on her Mum. Anne brought along with her a dog of her own, a bull terrier named Florence. A dogfight ensued, and Her Majesty's corgi was fatally mauled. The only people who might extract anything positive from this sad little dog-bites-dog story are opponents of the death penalty. It was assumed by everyone when the story first came out that the offending terrier was Princess Anne's other terrier, Dotty, who had attacked two children in Windsor Great Park some months previously, an incident that had led to the Princess's being fined £500. The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (patron: H. M. the Queen) had actually called for Dotty to be put down. Now that the true corgi-killer has been identified, everyone feels bad for innocent Dotty. Even Florence seems likely to be spared the ultimate penalty: Latest news as we go to press is that Florence will be put in care of a dog psychologist for resolution of the "issues" she apparently has with royal corgis.

■ In the ongoing campaign to transfer all of our country's private wealth into the pockets of plaintiffs' attorneys, the Association of Trial Lawyers of America has produced a handbook for its members, advising them on courtroom strategy and tactics. On jury selection the handbook offers this advice: "It is helpful to divide the jurors into two groups: the personal responsibility group and compassion-altruistic group. Jurors who are extreme on the personal responsibility bias, or who have a high need for personal responsibility, will strongly favor the defendant. In contrast, jurors who are extreme on the compassionate-altruistic bias, or who have a high need for compassion, will strongly favor

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the plaintiff." This ambulance-chasers' vade mecum goes on to warn its readers that the "personal responsibility" group members tend to espouse traditional family values, and often have strong religious beliefs. "The only solution," warns the shakedown-artists' guide, "is to identify these jurors during *voir dire* [pretrial questioning of potential jurors] and exclude them from the jury." Of course it is. We wouldn't want people who believe in personal responsibility sitting in judgment on our errors and follies, would we? Much less *religious* people—amongst whom, after all, compassion and altruism are quite unknown.

■ The abuse of the word "allegedly" in the media reached a new low in the *Columbus Dispatch* recently. An article stated: "[Bush] insisted Iraq comply with years of United Nations resolutions. When the Iraqi ruler allegedly refused, Bush led an effort that destroyed Saddam Hussein's regime." Perhaps we should now start calling the *Dispatch* an alleged newspaper?

■ The *New York Times Magazine* had a piece on David Truman, a Columbia University administrator during the tumult of the late '60s—"a lifelong liberal," said the magazine, "shaped by the evils of Nazism, Stalinism and McCarthyism." Ah, yes, the famous troika. We would laugh, but the statement is so obtuse—and morally offensive—that laughter comes only with difficulty.

■ Nicola Paone was a character in our part of the world (New York City). He was famous before NATIONAL REVIEW ever began publishing—as a singer and guitarist. He was actually born in America, though his family soon moved back to Sicily, where he grew up, a song very much in his heart. About fifty years ago, he decided he had to take life seriously, and so he started his restaurant, Paone's, on 34th Street just off Third Avenue. Generations of NATIONAL REVIEW editors and their friends ate his fare and marveled at the excellence of the cuisine and service. The restaurant survives, but Mr. Paone retired and left New York two years ago, and now has died, at the age of 88, mourned by his friends and his clients, whom he labored so robustly to serve and to gladden. R.I.P.

MARRIAGE

The Right Amendment

In 1998, Hawaii's Supreme Court attempted to foist gay marriage on that state. The voters amended the state constitution to preserve the definition of marriage as the union of a man and a woman. In 2001, gay activists found a more hospitable venue. Vermont's constitution is very hard for voters to amend. So the state courts could force civil unions on the state with little real danger of reversal. At the time, this magazine suggested that it was pretty clear where things were headed. The courts, both state and federal, were going to keep pushing gay marriage and gay marriage lite until they succeeded somewhere. Further legal actions would force the recognition of one state's gay marriages by all the other states. Or federal courts would, at some point, find the ground prepared for the national imposition of gay marriage. Whatever the precise methods, the courts would go as far in the direction of gay marriage as they could get away with. Each discrete step would be something that the public did not favor (and hence could not be enacted democratically) but also did not oppose so vehemently that it would be overturned.

We thought that the proper response to this campaign by legal activists and their judicial accomplices was a constitutional amendment. The Massachusetts high court's decision in favor of gay marriage in November 2003 has reinforced our view.

The public is beginning to see the danger that gay marriage will be brought to them without a vote. A *New York Times* poll in December found that 55 percent of Americans favor a constitutional amendment to define marriage in the traditional way. That is not a large enough number to ensure passage, but it is a strong one given how new the amendment is in the political debate.

Even among supporters of an amendment, however, there has been considerable disagreement about what precise form it should take. We have defended an amendment that would accomplish three things. First, it would reserve the word "marriage" for the union of one man and one woman: No court or legislature would be able to create "gay marriage."

As important as it is to prevent gay marriage, it is not the most important goal that an amendment should have. That goal is the end of judicial meddling with the institution.

Second, it would ban the federal or state governments—again, whether directed by a court or a legislature—from granting benefits that are conditioned on non-marital sexual relationships. Legislatures would be free to make a benefit, or civil-union status, available to unmarried persons. But availability must not be limited only to homosexual couples or to cohabiting heterosexuals. Siblings, friends, and roommates who are not in sexual relationships would also have to be eligible. A person's homosexuality would, in other words, not be of interest to the government when distributing any benefit.

Third, the amendment would block the courts, at both the federal and state levels, from second-guessing a legislature's decision to reserve a benefit for married couples. If the legislature has said that only married couples have joint adoption rights, for example, no court may grant that benefit to unmarried couples.

Some supporters of an amendment have wanted it to do more, and others less. The maximalists have wanted to ban all civil unions and other forms of marriage lite, and to deny certain benefits to homosexual couples. To accomplish these goals, however, would require the amendment to list in detail what benefits must be reserved to marriage. That would be unwise. The precise set of benefits that should attend marriage is not something that can be deduced from

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first principles. Different state legislatures may legitimately decide on different packages, as they always have. A maximalist amendment would be unwieldy, would delve into minutiae unsuitable for the Constitution, and would unduly limit the power of state legislatures. It would also be next to impossible to pass.

Most of the maximalists have now come around. The greater danger now comes from the minimalists. They want the amendment only to reserve the word "marriage" for the union of a man and a woman. State legislatures would be able to do anything else, including create civil unions for gays only that are legally identical to marriage in everything but name. The courts would be free to impose such policies, as well.

The minimalists have the ear of senior Republicans, and they are lobbying the White House to come out for their version of the amendment. That would be a mistake. As important as it is to prevent gay marriage, it is not the most important goal that an amendment should have. That goal is the end of judicial meddling with the institution. The campaign for an amendment should be as much for democratic self-government (and against judicial usurpation) as for traditional marriage (and against gay marriage). The minimalists' amendment, however, would allow the courts to impose Vermont-style civil unions on every state in the country.

We believe that it would be difficult, but possible, to pass the three-part amendment discussed above. Its proponents could say, truthfully, that the amendment would not keep gay couples from getting any particular benefit at all, except for governmental recognition of their sexual relationships. That should be defensible political ground for President Bush to hold.

If the amendment must be scaled back, however, the first and second parts of it are each more expendable than the third. It would be better, that is, to leave state legislatures free to create civil unions, any type of civil union, and even gay marriage at their own discretion—while banning judges from imposing either. It is not as though the public at large is clamoring for gay marriage in any state. If the public comes to do so of its own accord, and not under the tutelage of judges, then traditional marriage will be dead, and past the power of constitutions to save. The present danger is that the courts will push the country in a dangerous direction in which it would not otherwise go. It is that danger that a constitutional amendment should address.

notes & asides

■ Memo to: WFB
From: RL

Dear Bill: I remember your thoughts as written in *Nearer My God* over the Turkish earthquake a dozen years ago. The terrible quake in Iran brought them to mind. Why not share them with our readers? Your struggle, as a Christian, to understand . . . the earthquake.

■ Memo to: RL
From: WFB

Dear Rich: Okay. A thought on that terrible event . . .

A Christian Struggles To Understand the Earthquake

A few years ago, when I was weekending with an old friend in the English countryside near London, the morning paper brought news of an earthquake in eastern Turkey that had the day before killed some 400 men, women, and children. Years of experience warned me to resist the impulse; even so, I gave in to it. *Why does He permit such suffering*—self-evidently unrelated to human misbehavior?

I tried on myself the argument of life-is-that-way and injustice-is-random. The death of 400 human beings as the result of an earthquake isn't any more a sign of ad hoc divine neglect or disorder than the death from cancer of 400 people scattered about the globe. That is the way the world works.

But I threw away the cancer-victim examples. They didn't help me on that Sunday morning. I tried something else: the furtive search for an intersection, God's will over against human understanding of a phenomenon. Of course it didn't work.

* * *

If everything that happens serves a divine purpose, is it conceivable that the resourceful mind can come up with the point of intersection between that earthquake in eastern Turkey and God's intelligent, not to say benign, superintendence of human and natural affairs? We know one of God's ends, which is to give us each the opportunity for eternal life in His company. But we don't know all of the purposes of God. What else might He have had in mind for the Turks who died? Our answer is that He could not have had anything commendable in mind, unless it is so that the laws of congruity—what on earth did the Turks gain from their disaster?—are impossible to penetrate, without a divine perspective. In our world we can understand why a child gets burned when he touches the hot skillet: Once burned, twice shy. We do not know why a child suffocates in the fire that burns down the house. It simply didn't pay off to speculate on what might have been God's purpose, benign *or* punitive, in permitting the earthquake yesterday in eastern Turkey.

* * *

Well then, still another avenue of thought: Did He will it?—or merely countenance it? Was it a rogue act of nature, incidental yet intrinsic to the

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functioning of the earthly organism He created?

We don't know, and persistence isn't rewarding. If God had willed that geological convulsions should not occur, there would be none. It is certainly more prudent to acknowledge the barrier of mystery than to go to pieces searching for rational explanations that are beyond human reach. Do not seek to know the unknowable. Frustrate frustration by declining to divine divine purpose. Christian theology goes no further than to assure us that we will never be asked to believe anything, within Christian architecture, that contradicts reason. Earthquakes do not contradict reason. They just happen.

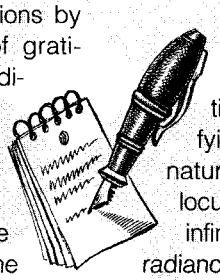
But human beings tend to search out moral meaning, and though fatalistic about tabloid atrocities, the mind begins to reel at something on the scale of Gulag. I remember the rabbi, or rather the erstwhile rabbi, who told us at a television forum in Chicago that when the details of the Holocaust were revealed, he forthwith renounced his faith in God, giving up his rabbinate. Yet it is easier to understand the Holocaust than the earthquake, because God did not create man with capacity for merely measured evil: the evil of man, plus electricity, could give us a Holocaust. The earthquake can't rationally be ascribed to man's evil.

My next question, that Sunday morning, asked whether by permitting the earthquake in Turkey God knew what would be the consequences. Well of course God is all-seeing and knows, therefore, the consequences of everything, as Ronald Knox so patiently and conclusively explained to Arnold Lunn, in a famous exchange. So there is going to be human attrition in the love of God, in those, like the ex-rabbi, who hold Him accountable for that earthquake, that Holocaust. Since we live in a world in which earthquakes or their equivalents are everywhere around us, what of the man who feels correspondingly absolved of any need to love God? "It would be most unreasonable of the Church to demand the love of God as an essential condition for escaping hell," Fr. George Tyrrell wrote, going on to say that "the love of God is the luxury of a few happy and imaginative temperaments. Man was not created nor designed for the love of God in that mystical sense, but for the love of man."

"God," Lunn concurred in his exchange with Knox, "has the right to demand obedience, but not love."

Yet on that point there is simply no question of God's law. *"'Which is the great commandment in the Law?' Jesus said unto him, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment.'"*

The God of the random earthquake, as one might here put it, should not expect reflexive love, except by those who tabulate the odds. I promise I am not about to say that everyone who on that Sunday morning was *not* victimized by an earthquake figured that, on the whole, God was doing all right. No, but I *would* say to myself: the Christian needs to begin his adjudications by acknowledging an infinity of gratitude for being alive and a candidate for perpetual life. Ivan Denisovich* in the cold horror of the Arctic labor camp felt a rush of gratitude on that day when fate conspired to give him an extra ounce of bread. The conventional grace recited before beginning a meal cedes to our Lord the credit for furnishing the food we eat (*"Bless us, O Lord, and these Thy gifts which we are about to receive from Thy bounty through Christ our Lord"*). People I saw on a visit to Lourdes were happy, and, in their perspective, grateful. Christianity asks that we *cultivate* the love of God. Some do so, one supposes, primarily out of fear. Christians know that God is to be feared, for He is the dispenser of eternal punishment. It is a common psychological phenomenon that those whom we fear we can also love; even as Ivan the Terrible was loved, or, for that matter, Josef Stalin. In analogous circumstances, they call this the Stockholm Syndrome, love-thy-jailer.



Why does God desire—command—love? Because His benefactions are critical to day-by-day living and must be lovingly besought?

Once again we run into problems. I remember a story relayed by my music teacher when I was a boy. She intended only an anecdote when she told me of a neighboring fifteen-year-old boy who undertook assiduously to cultivate a patch of earth alongside the spare dwelling in which he and his parents lived, to which end he devoted many hours, day after day, month after month. Eventually it bloomed with flowers and vegetables. The local priest, stopping by one afternoon, exclaimed to him, "Conrad, that is a beautiful garden that you and God grew." Bringing from the boy the blurted response, "You should have seen it when just God was taking care of it."

The sequence here brings to mind not only the question, so to speak, of the division of labor between God and man (God made fertile the earth on which young Conrad worked), but also the question: What is the point in glorifying God when God—in the nature of things—is already the locus of infinite glory? From His infinity we cannot subtract, to His radiance we cannot add. And so the restless mind asks, Are such prayers as we devote to the glorification of God redundant?

And, in skeptical freefall, one's mind is tempted to go further. Is there, in such prayer, an element of sycophancy? (Sycophant: "A servile self-seeker who attempts to win favor by flattering influential people.") A committed Christian *seeks* to be servile to God. He seeks to win favor from God. God is an influential figure. Here is a fine example of a secular definition inapt when applied to God. Sycophancy, whether before headmasters or emperors, is deplored. But the word is meaningless, is it not, in thinking about God?

* * *

Consider a passage from St. Augustine. I select it because it is more than mere cant-adoration, building as it

---

***One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (Dutton, 1963)**

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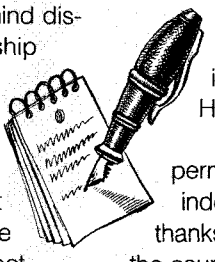
does on the great paradoxes that attach to God the Creator. And I select it also because it was framed by someone at once a great metaphysician and a great poet. St. Augustine wrote,

> What art Thou then, my God? . . . Most highest, most good, most potent, most omnipotent; most merciful, yet most just; most hidden, yet most present; most beautiful, yet most strong; stable, yet incomprehensible; unchangeable, yet all-changing; never new, never old; all-renewing, and bringing age upon the proud, and they know it not; ever working, ever at rest; still gathering, yet nothing lacking; supporting, filling, and overspreading; creating, nourishing, and maturing; seeking, yet having all things. Thou lovest, without passion; art jealous, without anxiety; repentest, yet grievest not; art angry, yet serene; changest Thy works, Thy purpose unchanged; receivest again what Thou findest, yet didst never lose; never in need, yet rejoicing in gains; never covetous, yet exacting usury. Thou receivest over and above, that Thou mayest owe; and who hath aught that is not Thine? Thou payest debts, owing nothing; remittest debts, losing nothing. And what have I now said, my God, my life, my holy joy? Or what saith any man when he speaks of Thee? Yet woe to him that speaketh not, since mute are even the most eloquent.

It is not for the mind harnessed by finite measurements to parse such language. It is rather for the mind disposed to worship, and worship requires emancipation from the boundaries of reason (. . . *seeking, yet having all things*). The morning I read of the earthquake in Turkey I went to Mass at Stonor. It is the little chapel that lies one hundred feet from the hidden recess of the great house in which Edmund Campion hid from the Elizabethan militia commanded to find him and bring him to the Tower of London to answer for the treasonable activity of distributing the sacraments under Catholic dispensation. He would be tried and found guilty; and Fr. Campion, sometime protégé of Queen Elizabeth, would submit to days of crippling torture before being hanged, drawn, and quartered.



In that little chapel where Campion prayed during his seclusion the congregation read from the Preface to the Eucharistic Prayer for the Sunday I was there.

> Father in heaven, it is right that we should give you thanks and glory; you alone are God, living and true. Through all eternity you live in unapproachable light. Source of life and goodness, you have created all things to fill your creatures with every blessing and lead all men to the joyful vision of your light. Countless hosts of angels stand before you to do your will; they look upon your splendour and praise you night and day. United with them and in the name of every creature under heaven, we praise your glory as we say:
>
> Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

It is right that we should give you thanks and glory intimates, with that inflection of we-say you-say, that there are those who believe that it is *not* right that we should give Him thanks and glory. But why would some of His creatures be reluctant to give Him thanks and glory? Well, one reason might be that they believe in an omnipotent God and cannot understand why only a few hours ago He would cause an earthquake in a little town in Turkey; or if He did not cause it, they do not understand why He failed to prevent it.

They ask: Is such a God, who permitted such random violence, indeed the God to whom we owe thanks and glory? Yes; our God is the source of life and goodness, who created all things. But did He not also create that geological malformation that caused life and goodness sharply to end for 400 of His creatures? Since God is perfect we cannot dismiss—can we?—the Turkish event as divine oversight. And inasmuch as countless hosts of angels stand before Him to do His will, why was not one angel dispatched to Turkey to appease the restive geological substratum? If God does not give us the analytical resources to descry a rational motive in that earthquake, then indeed, as the prayer says, He is in unapproachable light; but why then do we say that He illuminates the thought of the world with His life and goodness?

Hosts of angels look upon His splendor and praise Him, night and day. But why does He seek praise? Why does He *tolerate* praise?

And isn't the question necessarily raised, Does it not demean these creatures of God, to lift our poor voices in praise, through that hailstorm of praise with which the elements themselves storm the throne of heaven?

* * *

Or does the problem lie in the word "praise"? What exactly is it that we intend? To praise is to extol, commend, admire the subject's virtues or talents. But how is this applicable when the subject is already the essence of virtue, whose talents are indefinable, even as infinity is immeasurable? Doesn't it run the risk of belittling God—to proceed as if to praise Him were to enhance Him? If to praise Him is to augment Him, then He is not perfect. If praise cannot augment Him, how is He susceptible to praise? Is there a problem posed by Christian prayer? Does it summon human endeavor to exercises beyond human capacity, to an end unachievable?

We arrive finally at the simple question, How, reasonably, can man be expected to praise that God which we have agreed to call the god-of-the-earthquake?

* * *

The answer, by no means obvious, has necessarily to do with the purpose of worship, which is not to magnify God, but to enlist ourselves as among the faithful. To recognize that we pray to the entity described by St. Augustine tells us that we are making strides in understanding the immensity of the divine undertaking, and the immensity of the human being for

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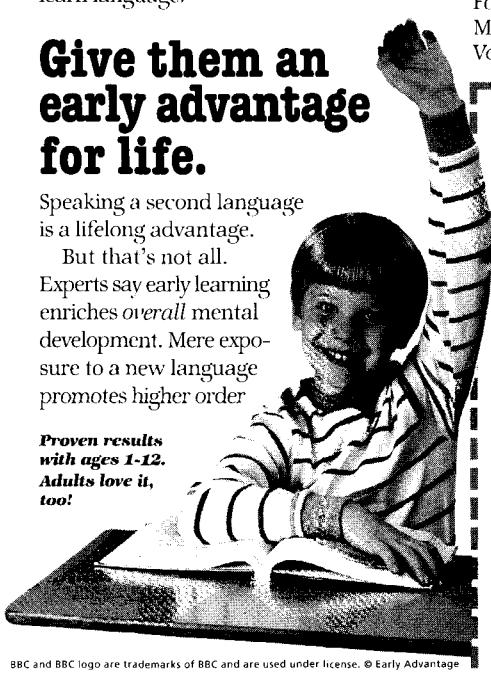

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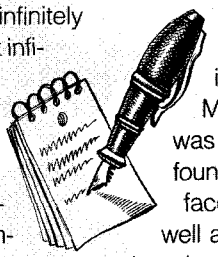
whom God sacrificed the pain, sorrow, and humiliation of—Himself. To praise the asceticism of St. Francis of Assisi is to focus attention on the difference between his, and your and my—lifestyle. To ponder the glory of God is to worship a transcendence that gives us a measure of man, near-infinitely small on the scale of things, but infinitely great, as the complement of divine love. Who are you, buster? *I am the man Christ-God died for.*



Does reality, illuminated, generate love? That is not unreasonable, to love the person who sacrificed so much. But as we move from deduction (why we worship) past the hindrances of reason to ecstasy (why we love), then an element of mystery enters (why does it happen to Alice and not to Beth?), as also of grace (why has Alice the buoyant pleasure of spiritual life, and Beth not?). In a television exchange with Malcolm Muggeridge we arrived at this point: What comes after deduction? He answered,

"The deductive process is the means, but faith is the motive force that takes you there. It's exactly like—Bill, it's exactly like falling in love. You see another human being and for some extraordinary reason you're in a state of joy and ecstasy over that person, but the driving force that enables you to express that and to bring it into your life is love. Without love, it's nothing; it passes."

* * *

Christ said it directly, in answer to the question, Which was the greatest commandment? And went on to prescribe the Second Commandment (Matthew 22:39): *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.*

I have seen this point probed by asking, Just how much do you love yourself? Enough to satisfy the Lord's commandment? But this is theological word play. Still, if we treat our neighbor as well as we do ourselves, are we then living by the Second Commandment?

No, because to care for your neighbor does not require that you love him, and most of us love ourselves. I recalled the opening lines of the novel *Father Malachy's Miracle* by Bruce Marshall. I read it soon after the war, led to it by the enthusiastic notice given it by Albert Jay Nock, a scholar and litterateur (and anarchist), in his autobiography *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man.* I cannot remember whether Nock paused over the meaning of the opening page of Marshall's words, but I did. There was the piquancy of the priest who found himself staring his duty in the face one day in a railroad car, as well as the delight in the language; but there was also the challenge it spoke at a very deep level, a parable on one's attitude toward one's neighbor. . . .

> A fat man climbed into the same compartment as the little clergyman, a fat man with a face that was so red and pouchy that it looked like a bladder painted to hit other people over the head with at an Italian carnival. He sat down, or rather threw himself down, in the corner opposite the priest and began to read a pink paper in which the doings of horses and erotic young women were chronicled at length. He was followed by a middle-aged woman who had a peaky, shiny nose with a funny little dent in the middle and whose hat was one of those amorphous black affairs which would have been, at any moment, out of fashion in any country.
>
> The priest was distracted from his meditation. It was impossible, he told himself, with a wry little mental smile, to think competently of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Ghost proceeding from Both, with such a bulging, red face in front of him and such a peaky, peering woman placing her parcels here, there and everywhere. How hard it was, here below and with the material and the temporal crowding out the spiritual and the eternal, to love one's neighbour, how hard and yet how necessary. For the soul behind that bulging, red face had been redeemed by Christ just as surely as had his own, and Our Blessed Lord, while He hung on the cross, had seen the funny little dent in the middle of the peaky, peering woman's nose just as clearly as He had seen the broad, bland visage of Pope Pius the Eleventh, and, so merciful was He, loved it just as much. And yet it was difficult to imagine bulge or dent in heaven unless, among the many mansions, there were one which should be one-tenth Beatific Vision and nine-tenths Douglas, Isle of Man. Of course, if it came to the point, it was difficult to imagine the majority of contemporary humanity in any paradise which did not syncopate Saint Gregory, and whose eternal sands were without striped bathing tents and casinos.
>
> He closed his eyes again. If he must love his neighbour he would love him without looking at him. He closed his eyes, and not only did he close them, but he kept on repeating the reflex action in his brain so that, with the bulging red face and the peaky, peering woman, away went the compartment, the train, the station, the world; and, as Scotland went swinging after Scandinavia and Spain came scampering after and Australia flew to join the stars, he was alone with God.
>
> A great nothingness was before him, a great nothingness that was Something, a great nothingness that was All; and in the warm freedom from the tangible he knew his Saviour and was absorbed by Him.

One knows what one should feel, why one should feel so, and how light is our effort alongside the exorbitance of Christ's example. Still, sometimes it is easier to do with eyes closed.

* * *

So: we come to rest with the mysteries. We have the wonderful tabulation of them done by St. Augustine. In agreeing that that is what they are, we are not violating the rule of Ronald Knox to prefer mystery to vagueness. We do not abandon reason, we merely recognize its limitations. We reason to the existence of God, it is revealed to us that His Son was the incarnation, and that such was His love of us that He endured a torture excruciating in pain, and unique in aspect—the God of hosts, mutilated by His own creatures, whom He dies forgiving, loving. Can we do less? Yes, we do less, but must die trying to do more.

—WFB

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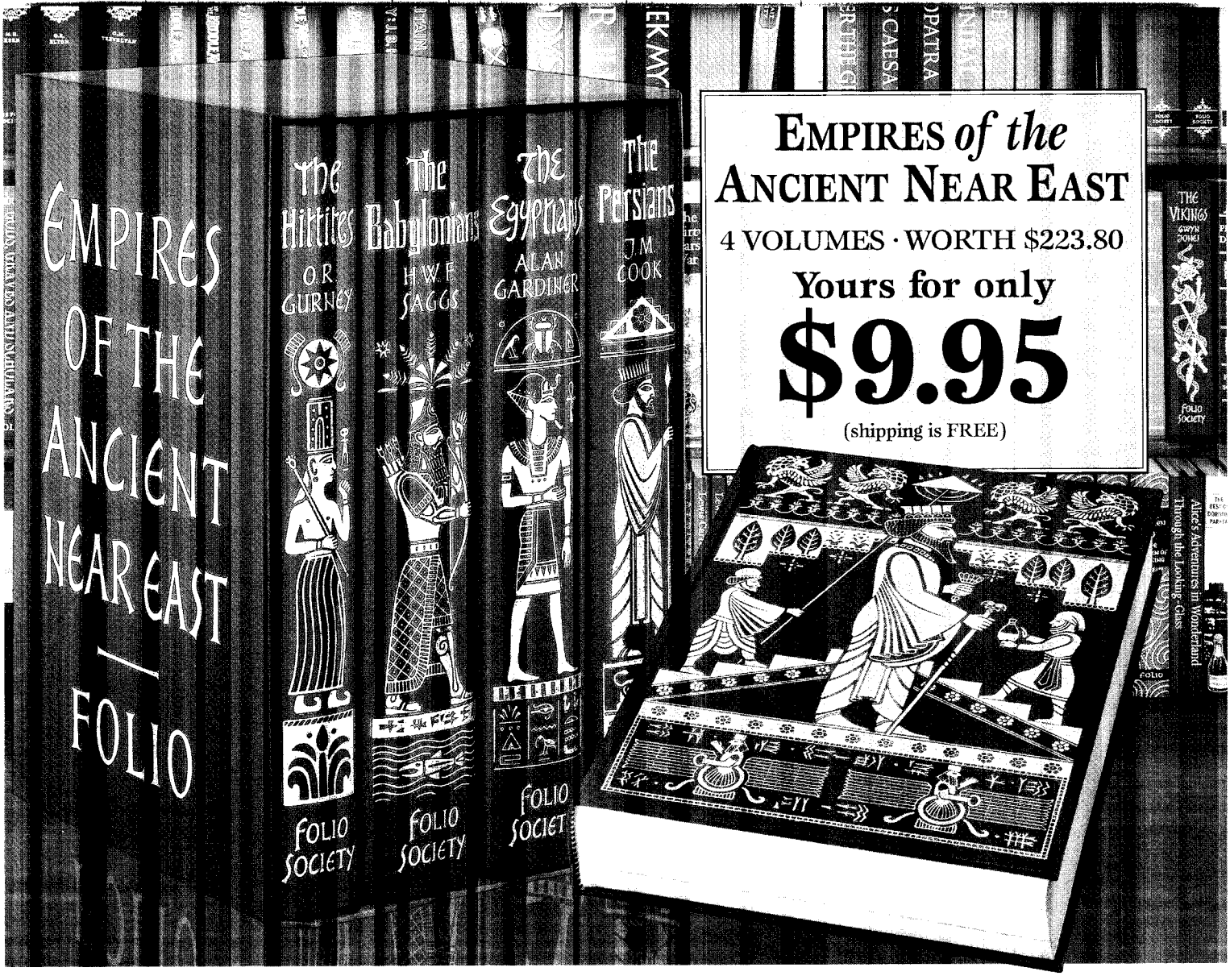

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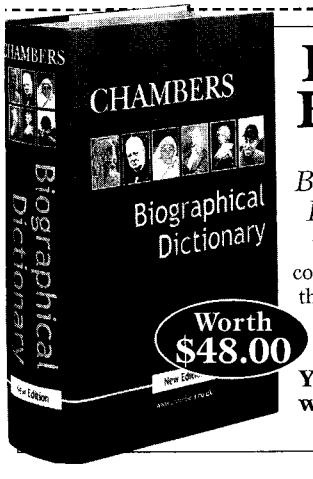

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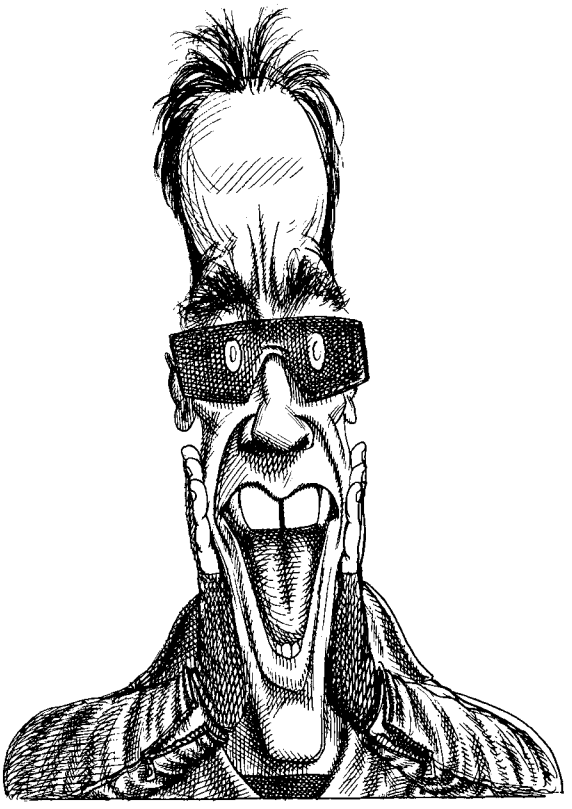

■ CALIFORNIA ■

Arnold's New Role

Schwarzenegger has his hands full in Sacramento

STEPHEN MOORE

This is a new political environment. This is the first time California has had an Austrian-born Mr. Universe as governor.

—Arnold Schwarzenegger, November 17, 2003

WHEN Arnold Schwarzenegger came calling on Halloween night—appropriately, my kids were out trick-or-treating in Terminator costumes—to ask if I would serve on his budget-audit committee, I already knew that California's budget situation was a horrible mess. But I had no idea just how gloomy the fiscal outlook really was.

After countless hours combing through the budget with star budget director Donna Arduin, we realized that the state faces roughly $15 billion annual deficits, twice as high as expected, from here to eternity. California's budget deficit is now larger than those of the other 49 states combined—and this state is already the most indebted in the nation.

So how is Arnold doing so far in filling this enormous fiscal black hole? He has already scored some impressive victories: He has—much to the indignation of the liberal intelligentsia—unilaterally slashed $150 million from the budget, including money for left-wing groups such as a taxpayer-funded pro-union think tank run out of the University of California.

But the state's immediate problem is not the long-term deficit but a cash-flow crisis: The state could easily run out of money to pay the bills around June. Gray Davis's parting gift to taxpayers was a set of accounting books that disguised Sacramento's money woes in a scandalous manner: Correcting for all the accounting gimmicks, the real deficit balloons to *at least $62 billion* through 2007.

In meetings I have had with Arnold, it has become reassuringly clear to me that this governor, like his predecessor of three decades ago, Ronald Reagan, thinks and talks like a supply-sider. He fundamentally understands that restoring growth is the key to restoring budget balance. It will take 6 percent growth of the economy in California to cut the state deficit in half; the rest will have to come from budget cuts—and that is where the governor may be a bit wobbly.

But Arnold is right to focus on igniting growth as the first step toward ending California's miseries. Between June 2000, the height of the boom, and the end of 2003, the state has had a negative growth rate in overall revenues after inflation. Why? Because, for the first time in the state's history, more taxpayers have left California than have entered it over a given three-year period. According to data from the State Board of Equalization, about 80 percent of the state's revenue losses were a result of disappearing millionaires. Some of this was a result of the dot bomb in Silicon Valley. But a lot of it was policy-driven. The leftists in the state legislature have made it clear through high taxes and anti-business regulations that they despise rich people, so the rich people have retaliated by leaving. The number of reported millionaires in California plunged from 44,000 in 2000 to 29,000 in 2002.

In 2000, those 44,000 millionaires contributed $15 billion to the state treasury. This remarkable statistic means that the richest 0.3 percent of Californians contributed roughly 20 percent of the state's income-tax revenues. California has a steeply progressive tax structure, highly dependent on rising incomes at the top to generate revenues; the state's income tax is, at 9.3 percent, the third highest in the

ROMAN GENN

Mr. Moore is president of the Club for Growth and a senior fellow at the Cato Institute.

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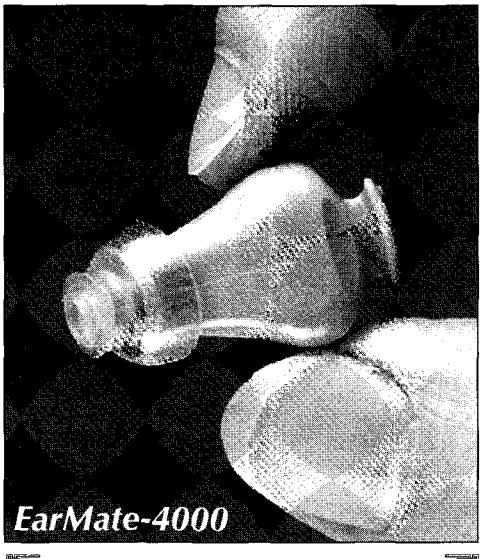

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nation. This needs to be changed, and the best way to do it is to enact a flat-rate tax, as California resident Arthur Laffer has been advocating for years. The flat tax would have two very desirable effects: It would even out revenue streams in good times and bad, rather than create mountains and valleys in revenue collections from year to year, and—most important—it would bring back the rich folk on whom the state is so dependent for job creation and tax revenues.

Another crucial economic issue in California is the governor's $15 billion bond initiative—and this fight isn't going well for conservatives. Arnold had promised conservatives during the recall campaign that he would support the bond initiative only if it were combined with an ironclad spending-limit measure; the spending-cap measure is essential to ensure that deficit spending never gets out of control again. Lew Uhler of the National Tax Limitation Committee has drafted a new spending-limit plan that would hold the growth of the state budget to the rate of population growth and inflation. If taxes and outlays had risen only as fast as inflation and population growth since 1988, the average California family would be paying some $2,000 less per year in state and local taxes today—and the budget would be balanced.

The Democrats in Sacramento, who control roughly 65 percent of the legislature, were immovable when it came to expenditure limits; Arnold caved and agreed to the bonds without the spending discipline. This was not just bad economics but bad strategy on his part: It will only make the Democrats even less cooperative on budget issues.

In early December, the governor stumbled again. He was asked the media's favorite question: Could you ever raise taxes? Arnold swallowed the bait. "Right now people despise the idea of new taxes," he replied. "We don't know what the situation is a year or two from now." Gulp. Arnold immediately "clarified" his statement, but the damage was done. On the bright side, I think the gaffe was the result more of political inexperience than of pro-tax sympathies on his part. I once warned Arnold that he has never faced a more tenacious adversary than the Democrats in the state legislature; but I think he still has the well-intentioned but naïve belief that he can get everyone in a room together, regardless of ideology, and charm them into endorsing sensible policies.

It is difficult to describe for people outside California just how extreme the left-wing tilt of the Sacramento Democrats really is; some of them make Charlie Rangel and Barney Frank look moderate. Assemblyman Ray Haynes has assembled a Bad Business Bill Watch List, and it includes such absurdities as "living-wage requirements," anti-global-warming tax hikes, mandatory employer health coverage, paid parental-leave requirements, domestic-partnership employee-benefit laws, and even anti-discrimination laws that cover cross-dressers. This last bill is sadly symptomatic of Sacramento's loony-left culture: It would impose fines of up to $150,000 on employers (including, for example, religious businesses and Boy Scout Councils) if they "refuse to hire individuals on the basis of gender or perceived gender . . . which could include cross-dressers, and transsexuals." This bill actually passed the senate.

Arnold has only two real assets: the bully pulpit and the veto pen.

So far, the left-wing interest groups promoting kook legislation like this have been making more demands on the governor than have the conservatives who voted him into office. "If we want Arnold to succeed," advises Lew Uhler, "fiscal conservatives better start holding the governor to his budget promises." The key is for the governor to recognize that the members of the Democratic leadership are his adversaries, not his allies. He has to be willing to neutralize them by going over their heads and directly to the voters who put him in office—just as Reagan did so effectively. And no one would be better at it: Arnold is the best GOP communicator since the Great Communicator himself.

Given the leftward tilt of California politics, Arnold has only two real assets: the bully pulpit and the veto pen. If he uses both, this Austrian-born Mr. Universe has a unique chance to break the Left's vise grip on Sacramento—and put the bloom back on the state that was once, and not so long ago, golden. **NR**

■ **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Agendas All Their Own

The perils of NGOs—non-governmental organizations

KATE O'BEIRNE

In September, Secretary of State Colin Powell's Open Forum played host to "philosopher, philanthropist, financier" George Soros. In his remarks at Foggy Bottom, Soros called on the global community to empower "civil society" when governments don't merit support. Two months later, Soros was giving the *Washington Post* a somewhat more pointed message: that he considered Powell's boss the global community's Enemy Number One. In fact, Soros explained, defeating George W. Bush "is the central focus of my life" and a "matter of life and death"—because "America, under Bush, is a danger to the world."

Soros is a billionaire, and boasts about the estimated $25 million he has pledged to MoveOn.org and other left-wing groups. But documents recently leaked from one of the global pressure groups he supports—his foundations spend almost $500 million a year around the world—outline a more covert assault, one based on the conviction that it's representative democracy itself that threatens the international order.

Under the banner of a "civil society" that claims to represent citizens rather than governments, hundreds of groups are aggressively lobbying international organizations and U.N. member states under the misleadingly benign classification of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Many of them are funded by governments, and their private funding is not fully disclosed. Although largely unaccountable to the public, they define their agendas as the public's interest—and seek to impose their policies through undemocratic means.

The Center for Reproductive Rights

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(CRR), one of the groups backed by Soros, has been revealed as an alarming example of the threat posed by NGOs. In early December, leaked copies of its internal strategy memos landed in the offices of Austin Ruse, president of the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute, which he founded to counter the assault of NGOs that advocate abortion and other liberal social policies. Ruse distinguishes between the hundreds of "service NGOs" that provide direct humanitarian assistance and the "advocacy NGOs" that prefer "swinging policy rather than swinging bags of rice."

Ruse says the CRR memos "substantiate that what we have always known about [the group's] intentions is true despite their persistent denials." One of the memos admits: "At the heart of [CRR's] international work is a commitment to building a global network for reproductive rights legal advocacy by building the capacity of NGOs to use international human rights laws and mechanisms to advance reproductive rights." Within hours of Ruse's disclosure of the memos' contents, CRR—recognizing that its cover was blown—threatened legal action, claiming "irreparable harm" and demanding that Ruse stop any further dissemination and identify those who had received the "proprietary information."

Within three days, the number of people privy to CRR's tactics and aims had grown exponentially. On December 8, Rep. Chris Smith, New Jersey Republican, submitted CRR's leaked documents to the *Congressional Record*. Smith noted the importance of the public's right to know—and contrasted CRR's frank admission, in one of the memos, about how it prefers to operate. "There is a stealth quality to the work," the memo said. "We are achieving incremental recognition of values without a huge amount of scrutiny from the opposition. These lower-profile victories will gradually put us in a strong position to assert a broad consensus around our assertions."

This stealthiness is central to CRR's strategy. The group eschews democratic processes in favor of establishing "international legal norms" through accords and tribunals. "Our goal is to see governments worldwide guarantee women's reproductive rights out of recognition that they are bound to do so." CRR plans to use so-called "soft norms," such as the repetitious use of the phrase "reproductive health" in non-binding U.N. resolutions, to establish a customary international right to abortion. This approach "involves developing a jurisprudence that pushes the general understanding of existing, broadly accepted human rights laws to encompass reproductive rights." Recalcitrant countries are brought in line when enforcement committees reinterpret intentionally imprecise terms.

When it comes to U.N. policymaking, NGOs have a seat at the table.

And this might have consequences even in the U.S. Ruse reminds us that when the Supreme Court struck down anti-sodomy laws in the *Lawrence* case last year, it cited a decision of the European Court of Human Rights. Ruse believes that with the present Court's reliance on foreign laws and international opinion to interpret the Constitution, CRR's strategy memos "provide a highly specific blueprint to our Constitutional future." Chris Smith says we need a cadre of pro-life lawyers to mount an international counteroffensive—to offer support to NGO-beleaguered foreign officials (like the justice minister from eastern Europe who recently told Smith his country is "under siege" by aggressive NGOs).

And CRR is just one of the stealth pressure groups. Advocacy NGOs, working in well-coordinated networks, monitor and advise international organizations and tribunals with the goal of establishing controlling international authority on issues ranging from family law to disarmament, the environment, and labor law. Some NGOs, including Human Rights Watch and the International Red Cross, are currently determined to undermine American wartime policy on the handling of enemy combatants.

In the past, the activities of these NGOs were naïvely dismissed as the work of international busybodies who were inexplicably willing to spend huge amounts of time in the company of windy international bureaucrats at seemingly pointless international conferences. But their power is growing too obvious to be ignored. The Federalist Society and the American Enterprise Institute are collaborating on a project called NGOWATCH.org to track the activities of advocacy NGOs that enjoy such power without appropriate transparency and accountability. At an AEI conference in June, Gary Johns of Australia's Institute of Public Affairs explained that many essentially illiberal advocacy NGOs operate like civil-society regulators, with negative consequences for representative democracy. He notes that their claims to represent public opinion are difficult to test and they don't face democracy's demand for trade-offs in establishing policy, yet they enjoy significant clout with the EU and at the U.N., where electorates have little control over them.

In its role as a conservative watchdog of the philanthropic community, the Capital Research Center of Washington, D.C., has detailed the clout of advocacy NGOs at international meetings. In 2002, the U.N. hosted its World Summit on

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Sustainable Development in Johannesburg to further the goals of a 1992 declaration that called for central economic planning and wealth transfers to the developing world. There were 2,300 delegates from 163 U.N. member states in attendance; their numbers were dwarfed by 8,096 representatives from 925 NGOs. At the U.N.'s 2001 "World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance," there were, again, 2,300 delegates from member states—but a stadium-sized crowd of 17,000 representatives from 3,400 NGOs.

When it comes to U.N. policymaking, these organizations have a seat at the table—and offer a concrete example of the "global governance" they seek. The Capital Research Center argues that with this power should come more transparency about who funds and directs the work of NGOs: There should be full disclosure of all government and private funding, and laws governing nonprofits ought to make clear distinctions between charitable and political activity.

Today, it's impossible to get a precise accounting of U.S. funding to advocacy NGOs. USAID provides over $3 billion a year to NGOs, including some that harshly criticize the Bush administration. Taxpayers, in essence, are funding the lobbying of their own government. Billions more in the foreign-aid budget are passed through to NGOs by foreign countries and international organizations. The Labor Department provides the International Labor Organization with over $300 million a year, which in turn funds the NGOs dedicated to changing American employment policies. In a recent speech, Labor Secretary Elaine Chao warned that "an increasing number of multilateral organizations are engaged in the business of globalized standard setting that affects democratic, developed nations." The recent workplace proposals being considered in international organizations include the recognition of stress as a major occupational hazard.

And when George Soros spoke at the State Department, his billing should have included "grantee": His Open Society Institute receives about $6 million a year from U.S. government agencies. **NR**

■ **AT WAR**

Golden Days of the Black Arts

'Human intelligence,' the right way

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

TECHNOLOGY and terrorism are unevenly matched. Undoubtedly it is helpful to be in a surveillance aircraft or at a computer terminal tapping terrorists' telecommunications, encrypted e-mails included. But terrorists have only to revert to pre-modern methods to limit the rewards of SIGINT, the shorthand for signal intelligence gathered by technology. Saddam Hussein had been relying on word of mouth, runners, and cash in hand, and was therefore untraceable through SIGINT. Terrorists in Iraq are organized in small autonomous cells. It is the same in Afghanistan, and in the Palestinian areas. Penetration of the underworld in which these cells form and operate is the surest—perhaps the only—way to defeat such an enemy. This involves HUMINT, or human intelligence, a difficult and dangerous business in the best of times, reaching to every one of the black arts of deception.

British expertise in this field was once proverbial. Principally it was a byproduct of the Empire, and the need to be assessing unrest, but it also had something to do with the British character, with love of adventure and identification with other peoples and their customs. British consuls, soldiers, traders, and eccentrics were in the habit of studying languages and the religion of Islam profoundly enough to be taken for Muslims, adopting Eastern clothing and passing themselves off in the crowd, or as it used to be said, "going native."

Among many feats of impersonation, the great explorer Sir Richard Burton—actually a serving officer of the Indian Army—did the pilgrimage to Mecca undetected under the name of Haj Ibrahim. Armin Vambery—Hungarian by birth but reporting to British intelligence—explored Central Asia pretending to be a wandering dervish. Suspicious local emirs and sheikhs cross-examined him, but he proved more learned in Islam than they were. Professor E. G. Browne, the father of Persian studies, liked to publish a photograph of himself in his habitual Persian clothes as the frontispiece of his books. T. E. Lawrence, a regular intelligence officer, insisted on dressing as an Arab even at the Versailles peace conference. The last in this tradition was probably Wilfred Thesiger, who died last year. A brigadier in the war, and second in command to General Wingate in the Ethiopian campaign of 1941, he had afterwards ridden a camel across the Empty Quarter of Arabia. His passport photograph at the time shows him unrecognizable with Bedouin robes, headdress, and beard.

John Buchan's *Greenmantle* is a thriller first published in 1916, and it bears re-reading today. Its plot is that British officers and adventurers, with a patriotic and clever American colleague, manage in the nick of time to infiltrate a conspiracy to raise the Muslim world in an anti-Western jihad. This involves both knowledge of the ways of Islam and disguise, and Buchan makes the self-flattering observation : "We are the only race on earth that can produce men capable of getting inside the skins of remote people." Buchan's fictional intelligence chief explains, "We have had our agents working in Persia and Mesopotamia for years—mostly young officers of the Indian Army. They carry their lives in their hand, and now and then one disappears, and the cellars of Baghdad might tell a tale." Buchan's fictional hero is generally assumed to be based on Aubrey Herbert, a Conservative member of Parliament, who spoke perfect Turkish and whose travels in the Ottoman Empire were wild and astonishing—at one point he might have become the ruler of

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor. Among his books is *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*

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Albania, then still an Ottoman province. But another likely model is Major E. B. Soane, an intelligence officer from the Indian Army. Right now, his exploits deserve to be remembered.

As a young officer, Soane first went to Persia in 1902. There he learnt Persian and Kurdish well enough to pass as someone from the city of Shiraz. He also spoke Turkish and Arabic. He studied Shia Islam, and in 1905 "ostensibly"—to use his word—converted to that faith. Like Vambery before him, he was indistinguishable from a genuine religious sheikh, in his words able "to dispute the Qur'an with the best of them." Calling himself Mirza Ghulam Hussein Shirazi, and dressing the part, he went underground in 1907, traveling through what is now Iraq. His sole mistake in tradecraft was to leave his real initials on his suitcase, but fortunately nobody noticed.

Susceptible to "the magnetism of the Middle East," as he puts it, Soane liked the people—their energies and their culture. His reports of his experiences in the main Kurdish towns of the north strengthened the view already current in British official circles that the Kurds ought to have independence and a nation-state of their own. In Halabja, where Saddam Hussein was later to gas thousands of Kurds, Soane introduced himself to Adela Khanum—today her name would be transcribed as Adila Khan. Powerful and wealthy, she was the wife of Usman Pasha, head of one of the most influential Kurdish tribes, and for a time Soane served as her Persian secretary. A passing Islamic sheikh happened to recognize Soane as someone he had once seen in Istanbul in Western dress, but Soane had the wits to devise a complex intrigue to defeat the sheikh. In all innocence, Adila Khan stood by him.

Moving on to what today is the Sunni triangle, Soane was less impressed by Arabs. He found at Samarra—now the scene of ambushes—"a mixed population, noted for its immorality and rascality." Tikrit, destined to provide so many of Saddam Hussein's thugs, was filthy, with 13 shops and two cafés, "a city of dust built in the dust," and "full of well-dressed Arabs sitting in the shade doing nothing . . ." In Baghdad at last, he regretfully resumed his English personality, and his career. His enthralling book, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, came out in 1912, and did not let on that he was doing his military duty, but everyone could read between the lines.

During the First War, Soane came into his own as a political officer in the new British-occupied Iraq. The British were planning a centralized Sunni Arab regime, and he didn't believe it would work, arguing the case for the Kurds and Shia Arabs. In a memoir published quite recently, Wallace Lyon, another political officer, says through rather gritted teeth that Soane was very able, a good Persian scholar, and "an enthusiastic supporter of those who favour an independent Kurdistan." The Acting High Commissioner in Baghdad, Sir Arnold Wilson, also did not believe in Sunni supremacy at the expense of the Shia and Kurds. In his autobiography *Loyalties*, he has left a portrait of Soane: "A short and thick-set man, sharp-featured, and with dark, piercing eyes, he had the power . . . of dominating those with whom he came in contact by sheer force of personality. His autocratic character and his knowledge of human nature were the principal weapons in his armoury: he controlled a race of lawless individualists by his own individuality. He played on their feelings—almost always on their nobler feelings—on their pride of race and on their personal honour." Towards the end of the war, Soane contracted tuberculosis, dying in 1923, before the failure of British arrangements in Iraq was evident.

U.S. General Abizaid speaks the language and knows the culture, as do some other American and British officials now in Iraq, for instance the chief British civil representative in Basra, Sir Hilary Synnott. But the intelligence community is sitting in front of SIGINT screens, remote from the population. Successes in the field, including the capture of Saddam and other leading Baathists, are conspicuously the result of HUMINT, and it alone is capable of destroying the hermetic infrastructure of current terrorism. Iraq's political future altogether depends on a realistic assessment of local forces and local opinion. It's still a matter of getting into the skins of others, as Soane and other rare spirits once so effectively did. **NR**

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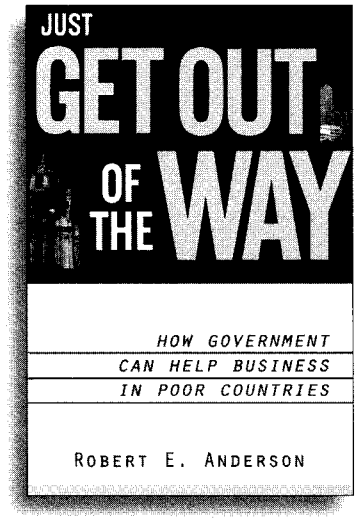

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■ COVER STORY

Amnesty, Again

This country should have learned—apparently, it has not

MARK KRIKORIAN

PRESIDENT BUSH has kicked off his reelection year by proposing an amnesty for illegal aliens dressed up as a guest-worker program, plus the importation of millions of new guest workers and a significant increase in immigration. What is the White House thinking?

The administration first floated the idea of a guest-worker amnesty in 2001, during President Bush's honeymoon meeting with Mexico's President Vicente Fox, but discussions came to a halt because of 9/11 (as well as ferocious opposition from House Republicans). Over the subsequent two years, the administration issued occasional statements expressing the continued desire to reach an immigration deal with Mexico—but the complete lack of substance in these pronouncements, combined with Secretary of State Colin Powell's careful efforts to keep expectations low, suggested it was little more than talk, intended to appease the beleaguered Fox administration and curry favor with hostile Hispanic racial-identity groups in this country.

But there is more to the current amnesty talk than the sweet nothings of diplomacy. The president has unveiled the outlines of his proposal in anticipation of his planned meeting with Fox during the January 12-13 "Summit of the Americas" in Monterrey, Mexico. It is described as a guest-worker program, but the "guest" concept is deceptive; in fact, the program would provide for the permanent importation of thousands of new workers from overseas and amnesty for illegal aliens already here.

Mr. Krikorian is executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies and a visiting fellow at the Nixon Center.

As to the first of these goals, the president has frequently said he wants an "immigration policy that helps match any willing employer with any willing employee." Taking him at his word would suggest a return to 19th-century unlimited immigration, with the American labor market open to the world's other 6 billion people. And, in fact, this seems to be the objective, because under the proposal, employers would decide which workers come into the United States, though it would maintain the fiction that Americans would have to be offered the jobs first.

Providing U.S. employers of low-skilled labor access to the entire workforce of the Third World would inevitably drive down wages and benefits for Americans, creating ever more "jobs Americans won't do." The White House seems to view immigration as similar to trade, seeking a market-driven system that allows free movement of people. But immigration and trade are fundamentally different issues. As Henry Simons, a pioneering University of Chicago free-market advocate wrote in 1948: "To insist that a free-trade program is logically or practically incomplete without free migration is either disingenuous or stupid. Free trade may and should raise living standards everywhere . . . Free immigration would level standards, perhaps without raising them anywhere."

Although this importation of new foreign workers would be the more far-reaching component of the White House plan in the long run, the amnesty portion is the more controversial and relevant politically.

NONE DARE CALL IT AMNESTY

Not that amnesty supporters ever use the "A" word. A couple

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of years ago, the National Council of La Raza commissioned focus groups to prepare for the fight over amnesty and concluded that they should never utter the word. As a result, amnesty proponents have concocted a series of ridiculous euphemisms, which have been embraced by the White House and others: "normalization," "legalization," "registration," "permanence," "earned adjustment, "adjusted work status," and—my favorite—"phased-in access to earned regularization."

The only time supporters use the word "amnesty" is when denying that their proposals constitute an amnesty at all, as in the president's repeated statements that he opposes a "blanket amnesty." Unfortunately, coming out against a "blanket amnesty" is meaningless. What country would grant legal status to every illegal alien, without so much as a cursory background check? The huge amnesty passed by Congress in 1986 (billed as the first and last in American history) was clearly not a "blanket" amnesty, since there were residency and other requirements applicants had to meet, and 10 percent of the 3 million applicants were rejected.

It is true that the Bush Amnesty would work differently from the 1986 version. First, illegal aliens would be relabeled "guest workers" under a renewable three-year status, thus allowing them to remain here legally, get driver's licenses, travel freely, etc. Then, they could apply for green cards under the normal legal-immigration system, free from the fear of deportation. However, rather than allow the backlogs to grow astronomically, as would happen otherwise, the president's plan would significantly increase legal-immigration quotas so as to accommodate the new applicants. In other words, this is a kind of two-step amnesty, where the former illegal aliens can remain indefinitely in a contingent status, awaiting the day that their number comes up for a green card. But the mechanics are irrelevant to the central fact: Illegal aliens would be rewarded with legal status, and that's amnesty. To suggest otherwise is an insult to our intelligence.

So what? What's wrong with legalizing millions of hardworking illegal aliens? Let me count the ways.

■ *What part of "illegal" don't you understand?* Amnesty undermines the rule of law. In the first encounter these people had with our country, they broke our law. It would be one thing to use the model of a tax amnesty and give illegals 60 days to leave the country, no questions asked, after which the hammer of enforcement would come down. But the Bush Amnesty would instead reward illegals with the most coveted asset on the planet—permanent residence in the United States.

■ *"Sucker!"* The most immediate victims of amnesty are the millions of people overseas on waiting lists seeking to immigrate legally. Even if the illegals have to go to the back of the line, the fact remains that we have rewarded their lawbreaking, and we thus mock those who did not sneak into our country and sought to obey our law.

■ *Overload.* Immigration authorities simply do not have the administrative capacity to manage an amnesty—however it is organized—properly. There is now a backlog of more than 5.5 *million* applications for immigration benefits, up 26 percent from the year before, and the Department of Homeland Security is developing and implementing huge new systems to track foreign students and visitors. Do immigration workers in the midst of all this have so much time on their hands that they can take on the additional task of ensuring that millions of illegal aliens comply with the terms of their "phased-in access to earned regularization"—not to mention doing their background checks?

■ *Enemies, foreign and domestic.* Of course, the corollary of administrative overload is massive fraud, as overworked bureaucrats start hurrying people through the system, usually with political encouragement. We saw this in the 1986 amnesty, when applicants who claimed to have picked watermelons from trees were legalized as farm workers, because the INS was prohibited from devoting too much attention to suspicious applications, lest the process bog down. This can become a national-security problem, when ineligible people get legal status—people like, say, Mahmud Abouhalima, a cabbie in New York, who got amnesty as a farm worker under the 1986 law and

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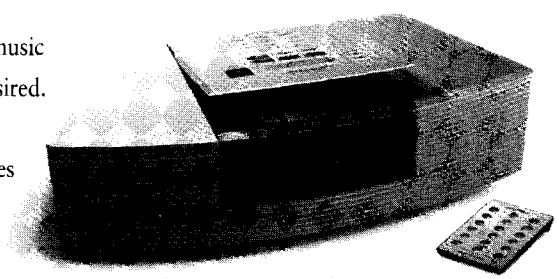

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went on to help lead the first World Trade Center attack. Having an illegal-alien terrorist in your country is bad; having one with legal status is worse, since he can work and travel freely, as Abouhalima did, going to Afghanistan to receive terrorist training only after he got amnesty. And don't fall for the claim that illegal aliens who have sneaked across the Mexican border yearn only to wash our dishes; an Iraqi-born smuggler pled guilty in 2001 to sneaking 1,000 Middle Easterners through Mexico into the U.S., and the former Mexican consul in Beirut was recently arrested for her involvement in a similar enterprise. Another amnesty is guaranteed—*guaranteed*—to give legal residence to a future terrorist.

■ *"It's a paycheck!"* The morale of government workers responsible for enforcing the immigration law is grievously undermined when their political superiors continually talk about amnesty for the very people who lied, cheated, and generally flouted the law. In this environment, it's easy to understand how, for instance, an airport immigration inspector in Miami could have allowed Mohamed Atta to re-enter the country in January 2001 even though he had overstayed his visa the last time; after all, why bother focusing on him when millions like him go unpenalized and when political leaders make crystal clear that they don't take our immigration laws seriously? Immigration workers approach me all the time with their frustration at not being allowed to do their jobs, and amnesty would ensure that they remain trapped in this Dilbert universe, with Congress and the president filling in for the pointy-haired boss.

■ *Sticker shock.* Illegal aliens can't receive welfare; legal immigrants can. The fear of a fiscal earthquake is why Congress in 1986 barred amnesty recipients from some welfare programs for five years and reimbursed states a small portion of their aid costs for the former illegals. But no amount of fancy footwork could avoid the fact that permanently settling millions of unskilled laborers into a modern economy costs the public treasury billions. A study ten years after the last amnesty estimated that the newly legalized aliens had already generated a net fiscal deficit of $24 billion. Is this really the time to saddle states and localities—which would bear most of the costs—with an additional unfunded mandate?

BAIT AND SWITCH

Okay, but even if you stipulate to all these problems, there's nothing else we can do, right? We can't round up 9 to 10 million illegals, so why not suck it up and weather the fallout of amnesty, but resolve to mend our ways and put in place measures to ensure we don't get more illegals in the future? This appears to be the marketing strategy the White House has in mind, with talk of increased use of technology at the border and tougher enforcement against employers who abuse the system.

It would be impolite to ask why these measures aren't being taken already, given that the enemy is even now plotting to penetrate our defenses and kill us. Let me point out only that this bargain—amnesty in exchange for stricter future control—was the basis of the 1986 law. And as anyone with a modicum of common sense could have predicted at the time, the deal was a trick. The law was indeed tightened, prohibiting the employment of illegal aliens on the valid assumption that removing the magnet of jobs is necessary to stem illegal immigration. But enforcement was sporadic at best, and has now virtually ceased. The consequences were hard to miss: 2.7 million illegal aliens were legalized, but because there was little commitment to law enforcement, every one of them was replaced by a new illegal alien within ten years of the law's implementation.

The administration is populated by smart, public-spirited men and women; how have they come to support such nonsense?

To go back to the original question: What are they thinking? The administration is populated by smart, public-spirited men and women; how have they come to support such nonsense? The proximate reason is politics, with the quest for a larger share of the Hispanic vote clouding the judgment of otherwise sensible people. Though its importance is wildly exaggerated, the effort to win more Hispanic votes isn't a bad idea; it's just that this isn't the way to do it. The Hispanic voters most likely to back Republicans are the very law-and-order, God-and-country traditionalists who are left cold by talk of amnesty. A Zogby poll conducted shortly before 9/11 found Hispanics evenly split on amnesty. In fact, twice as many Hispanics in the survey said

■ *Priming the pump.* Amnesties don't solve the problem of illegal immigration—they exacerbate it. An INS report released about three years ago showed that after the 1986 amnesty, illegal immigration *increased* markedly as family and friends of the newly legalized aliens sneaked into the country. And the new illegals weren't just Mexicans, emboldened to hop across the border; illegal immigration from other countries surged even more dramatically, suggesting that amnesty's role in encouraging further illegal immigration is a general phenomenon.

■ *We the People?* Amnesty will create millions of new U.S.-Mexican dual citizens, who, as early as 2006, may be able to vote in both countries' elections. This would represent the fulfillment of Mexico's efforts to extend its authority over a large part of the American population—the most serious threat to our sovereignty since the Civil War. The Mexican consulates in the U.S. already represent the largest such network in any country, and the consuls are increasingly taking part in domestic politics and governance. Amnesty would hugely accelerate this trend.

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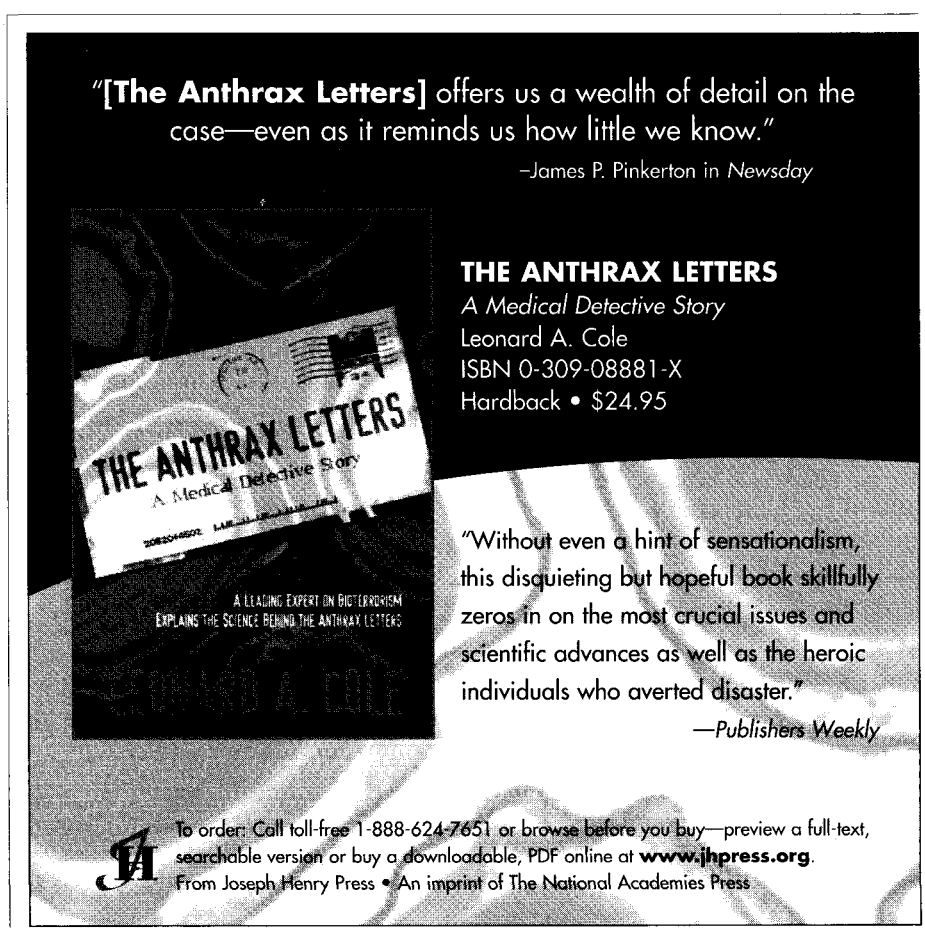
support for amnesty would make them *less* likely to vote for the president as said it would make them more likely to support him. And when it came to congressional elections, support for amnesty would lose four Hispanic votes for each one gained. Even more important politically, of course, is the fact that amnesty is poison to the president's conservative base. In fact, there are few policies more likely to *hurt* Republican prospects. The same Zogby poll found conservatives opposing amnesty 2-to-1, with about one-third of the total saying they would actually be less likely to vote for the president if he supported an amnesty.

But you don't need a pollster to tell you that. After Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge in December called for giving illegals "some kind of legal status," Rush Limbaugh, who has customarily remained aloof from the immigration issue, spent 20 minutes of air time lambasting him. Rep. Tom Tancredo, the Colorado Republican and outspoken head of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus, called for Ridge to start enforcing the law or resign. Earlier in the fall, Rep. J. D. Hayworth, an Arizona Republican, got 63 colleagues to sign a letter to President Bush urging him to reject "any and all forms of amnesty." And columnists from Michelle Malkin to Phyllis Schlafly to Paul Weyrich have repeatedly weighed in to blast amnesty.

So, again, how can smart people think there's something to be gained from amnesty? The answer is that Beltway and Wall Street Republicans live in an elite echo chamber, where the received wisdom about immigration goes unchallenged by respectable people. We conservatives assume this kind of groupthink is just a liberal malady. After all, which of us hasn't laughed at the comment by the *New Yorker* writer who remarked after Nixon's 1972 landslide, "I can't believe it! I don't know a single person who voted for him!"? But on immigration, the disconnect between elite and public opinion crosses party lines. The Chicago Council of Foreign Relations in 2002 polled the public and opinion leaders on a variety of foreign-policy-related issues, and found the gap to be greatest on immigration. The poll found that 70 percent of the public said that reducing illegal immigration should be a "very important" foreign-policy goal, compared with only 22 percent of elites. The elite/public disconnect was even greater than on issues where you would expect a wide gap, like support for foreign aid or globalization or even the U.N.

The *Wall Street Journal*'s editorial page exemplifies this disconnect. So constructive on other issues, the paper is wholly out of touch with America on immigration. Building on its prior record (it has repeatedly called for a constitutional amendment that says, "There shall be open borders"), the *Journal* responded to Secretary Ridge's call for amnesty by saying that he deserves a raise.

Republicans need to save the president from his advisers, lest amnesty become for him what illegal-alien driver's licenses were for Gray Davis: the disaster he embraced because everyone he knew thought it was a good idea. Amnesty shouldn't even be *discussed* until our immigration system has been fixed. When it comes to considering tax increases, the rallying cry of Republicans has always been "cut spending first." In the context of an illegal-alien amnesty, their cry must be "control immigration first." The White House seems to think that they have put in place the needed immigration-control tools and that they can now move to the next step. In fact, we are years away from the infrastructure that we need to protect our borders. And even then, we need to see eight or ten years of proven, ongoing border control and interior enforcement, with a properly functioning and motivated immigration bureaucracy and a steadily declining illegal-alien population. Only then is it appropriate even to raise the issue of amnesty for the remaining long-term illegals whom we didn't manage to deport or who didn't leave on their own. Nor is immigration control a pipe dream, or achievable only with machine guns and land mines on the border. We need only the political will to uphold the law using ordinary law-enforcement tools, and to resist measures that make things worse, such as new guest-worker programs. Once the message gets out that it's not business as usual any longer, the illegal population will shrink through attrition, and we will wonder why we were paralyzed for so long by this problem. **NR**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■ 2004

Giving Iowa a Try

Gephardt vs. Dean, amid the corn

BYRON YORK

Clarion, Iowa

It's the loneliest time to be campaigning for president in Iowa, but Richard Gephardt is up and at it. Two days after Christmas, with the press corps nowhere to be found and many people still in a holiday blur, Gephardt rolls across the north central part of the state, going from small town to small town, meeting voters. When he arrives in Clarion (pop. 2,968), he finds about 75 people waiting at the old train station, which now houses the Chamber of Commerce. Standing in front of a fireplace with a model train stretched across the mantle, Gephardt launches into a lecture on corporate greed.

"It's about money," he tells the group. "These companies want to do things, and then they want to escape responsibility for what they do, and it's wrong." The corporations send jobs overseas, Gephardt explains, they deceive stockholders, they take away workers' rights: "Enron and WorldCom and Tyco, once you release them from responsibility, that's it. Katie bar the door." The farmers and blue-collar union workers—Gephardt's core constituency in Iowa—listen closely and nod in agreement.

A couple of hours later, after a stop in Garner (pop. 2,922), an aide drives Gephardt to the Mason City Municipal Airport, best known as the field from which Buddy Holly took off on his last plane ride after performing in nearby Clear Lake on February 2, 1959. Waiting for Gephardt near the small general-aviation office is a gleaming white Falcon 900EX, a big, luxurious, three-engine jet that happens to be owned by the BellSouth Corporation (and piloted by BellSouth pilots). Gephardt, a longtime recipient of donations from the telecommunications industry, wearily climbs aboard and takes off for a round of politicking in Oklahoma.

Arrangements like the BellSouth flight are a great boon to the financially strapped Gephardt campaign. Federal Election Commission rules require the candidate to reimburse BellSouth only for the price of comparable tickets on a commercial flight—a small part of the real cost of flying the Falcon. But Gephardt aides say there is no contradiction between their man's anti-corporate rhetoric and his acceptance of BellSouth's generosity. "He's running for president," says one aide, "and in order to do that, you have to take airplane rides." Still, at the very least, the image of Gephardt riding the company jet doesn't seem entirely consistent with the message he is sending to the working people of rural Iowa.

But Gephardt needs all the help he can get. In Iowa, he is locked in mortal combat with the Democratic front-runner, former Vermont governor Howard Dean; polls show Gephardt, who won the Iowa caucuses in his first run for president in 1988, in second place and within striking distance. But he has far less money to work with—in the last three months of 2003, Gephardt raised about $3 million to Dean's $15 million—which means he can't hire as many staffers, can't put up as many signs, can't do anything quite as much as Dean.

But there's a much more profound contrast between the two campaigns. What is playing out in Iowa as the January 19 caucuses approach is a major battle inside the Democratic party—not between its liberal wing and its moderate wing, or its virulently anti-war wing and its mildly anti-war wing, but between young and old. Gephardt's supporters are old, and Dean's are young; Gephardt's campaign events are tired, while Dean's are filled with energy; Gephardt plays to his aging audiences' fears, while Dean plays to his younger audiences' anger and sense of social obligation. More than just another Iowa caucus, the race is Gephardt's last stand—and perhaps the last stand of his most devoted supporters as well.

FEELING THEIR PAIN

When Gephardt travels to rural Iowa, the people who come to see him don't have much money, by and large. Many are retired, and they worry about the social safety net. Gephardt tells them he knows what it's like, because he's one of them. "I grew up poor," he tells the crowd in Creston (pop. 7,597) in south central Iowa. "My dad was a Teamster and a milk-truck driver. He lost that job after ten years. Neither of my parents got through high school. We didn't have anything."

Gephardt tells them he got where he is today because of lots of government help—loans and scholarships and other assistance. "I didn't do any of it on my own," he says. Now, he promises them what he says will be the greatest benefit of all, universal health care.

"When I become president, in my first week, I will ask Congress to lay aside the Bush tax cuts," Gephardt tells people at the stop in Garner, "and I will use those monies to see to it that every person in this country has good health insurance that can't be taken away." Gephardt claims his plan will put $3,000 back into the average family's pocket each year, while the president's tax cuts have given them just $500. "Do the math," he says.

It's a message that works for Gephardt's target audience. "He's trying so hard to help people like us, who have no money," says Wanda Heimke, a retired small-business owner in Creston, as she sits in a booth at the coffee shop where Gephardt has just finished speaking. "He thinks for the common people," adds Tommie Stoner, a farmer who is active in the local Democratic party. "He's for the middle class."

In the rest of his standard stump speech, Gephardt rails about NAFTA and promises "a trade policy that will stop the race to the bottom." He promises "jobs, jobs, jobs." He promises energy independence through a mix of wind, solar, ethanol, soy-diesel, and hydrogen development programs. He promises a balanced budget.

Even with all that, the crowd sometimes wants more. In Garner, after Gephardt raps President Bush about Halliburton, a man rais-

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es his hand to ask, "Why aren't there special prosecutors like there were with Clinton?" Says Gephardt, sadly, "We don't have a majority in Congress. And if you don't have a majority, you don't control the committees, and you can't put subpoenas out." A woman sighs loudly and interrupts, telling Gephardt to "clean house." "No, we can't put subpoenas out," he answers. "We don't have the power to do what they did to Clinton."

One thing that Gephardt doesn't say much about in his standard speech these days is Iraq. Yes, he talks about terrorism—"I am, uh, for trying to keep the people in this country safe," he tells the crowd in Garner—but there are some events in which he doesn't mention Iraq at all. That's a significant change from speeches in the past, in which Gephardt proclaimed the president's performance in Iraq a "miserable failure." Back then, Gephardt was fond of saying, "Osama bin Laden vanished. Saddam Hussein vanished. There's only one way to fix the problem: We've got to make George Bush vanish!" That line doesn't work as well these days, so Gephardt often stays away from the subject altogether.

DEANIACS

While Gephardt criss-crosses rural Iowa, Howard Dean has found more success in the bigger places: the college towns, the suburbs. It's hard to imagine Dean starting off his stump speech with his own version of Gephardt's personal testimony. "I grew up rich," Dean might say. "My dad was a Wall Street banker. We had everything." Even with Dean's Iowa audiences—younger, better educated, and better off than Gephardt's—that probably wouldn't be a winner.

Instead, Dean begins most speeches by announcing, "We're going to have a little fun at the president's expense." And sure enough, it doesn't take Dean long to suggest that George W. Bush is too stupid to be president. In Ames, on the campus of Iowa State University, Dean rips into the president's teacher-accountability initiative. "Here's a good one—highly qualified teachers, right? The president is going to decide who highly qualified teachers are?" The crowd begins to laugh. "He had so many of them, right?" The crowd laughs more. Dean smiles broadly. "I shouldn't have said that," he says, pretending to be remorseful. "It's not presidential." The crowd breaks into applause.

From there, it's an unbroken string of accusations that Bush isn't up to the job: "I don't think this president understands defense at all." "There's no longer any thinking going on in this administration." "Facts don't matter to this administration." Dean's audiences love it.

Dean's contempt for Bush segues into contempt for his Democratic opponents. When Dean runs down a list of the president's legislative programs, he concludes, "The Democrats all voted for this stuff. We can't beat George Bush by being Bush Lite!" And Gephardt is one of the worst offenders. "Dick Gephardt's a good guy," Dean says. "But George Bush said, 'I

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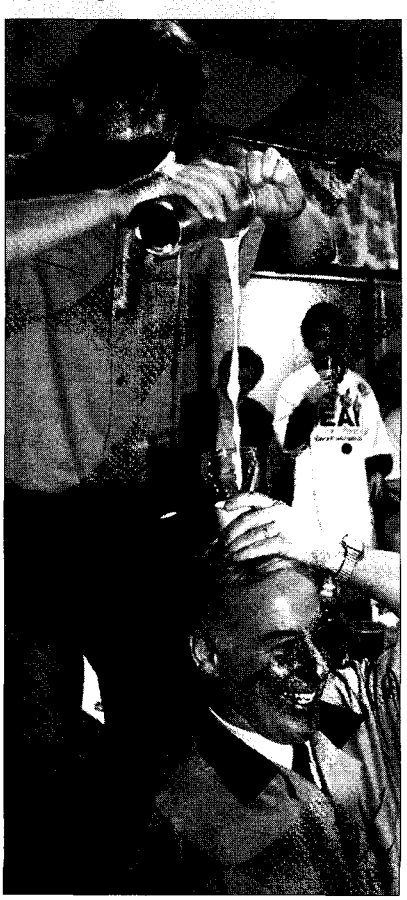
want 1.2 trillion dollars in tax cuts,' and Dick said, 'Oh no, it should only be 900 billion.'" It takes the audience a second to get Dean's point, and then they begin to laugh. "It's true!" Dean says. "I worked for him in '88, he's a good guy, but *enough*."

When Dean pitches his health-care plan—like Gephardt, he wants to repeal the Bush tax cuts and provide universal insurance—it's from an entirely different perspective. Gephardt's supporters like the plan because they need help, and they respond to Gephardt's it's-money-in-your-pocket appeal. Dean's supporters like universal health insurance because they want the U.S. to join the rest of the enlightened world. One of Dean's best applause lines comes when he tells crowds, "Surely the most powerful and wealthy society on the face of the earth can join the British, the French, the Germans, the Japanese, the Irish, the Italians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Greeks, the Israelis, the Canadians—even in Costa Rica they have health insurance for all their people, and SO SHOULD WE!"

Dean's message on foreign policy is similar. Yes, he's angry about Iraq, but his real point is that as president, he won't act without the rest of the world's permission. He promises the Ames audience that he will "restore the honor and the dignity and the respect that this country deserves around the rest of the world by embarking on a foreign policy that is principally based on cooperation and not confrontation."

It's a true-blue blue-state message, and it's what the audience—bearded professors, clog-wearing women in big sweaters, a guy in a City College of New York sweatshirt—comes to here. Even in non-academic settings, like the Des Moines suburbs, the crowds eat it up. And it is made all the more appealing by the almost palpable sense of momentum at Dean events. His rallies feature lots of signs, lots of noise, and lots of staff running around with earpieces. The candidate might not be presidential, but the campaign certainly is.

Howard Dean, again ignoring the rules



SODA JERK

As Dean and Gephardt fight it out in the final days before the caucuses, it has become more and more clear that Gephardt's hope is that Dean will blow himself up. In recent weeks, Dean has made a number of false, or outrageous, or both, statements that would have done grievous damage to other campaigns. His description of a "rumor" that the Saudis tipped the United States off in advance about the September 11 attacks, his refusal to pass judgment on the guilt or innocence of Osama bin Laden, his declaration that the capture of Saddam Hussein did not make Americans any safer—all have given Gephardt hope that Dean will fall apart.

"People out here are reading all this, they're seeing it, they're listening to it," Gephardt told reporters after speaking in Creston, "so who's to say that this . . . is not going to have a toll on his candidacy when we actually get down to the voting? Let's see what happens."

But Gephardt's bigger hope is that his older, unionized supporters will come through in a way that Dean's younger, more upscale fans won't. Gephardt's people can be counted on to vote for him, while Dean's supporters, many of them first-time participants in politics, are not such sure bets. "I think Gephardt has a lot of loyalty," says Peverill Squire, a political scientist at the University of Iowa. "I'm not sure he has a lot of passion, but the trick is to make sure they show up on caucus night. Maybe Gephardt doesn't have to lean on passion as much as Dean."

Nevertheless, Dean is acting like a man who knows he'll win. In an appearance in Ankeny, just north of Des Moines, on December 28, he not only says he will win the White House—all candidates say that—but adds, "We're not going to stop at that." Dean then describes a program in which "we're going to target the 20 or 25 closest House races . . . to try to help them so that we can take over the House." Before the first vote has been cast, Dean is thinking coattails.

A less serious example of Dean's confidence comes later the same day, when he visits a place called Stella's Blue Sky Diner in a strip mall in the Des Moines suburb of Urbandale. Stella's is known for its milkshakes, and the owner, a man named Piers Plaskitt, gives Dean a bright blue, 1950's-style soda-jerk smock. Ignoring the first rule of political propriety, which is never to don any clothing or headgear that makes you look silly—or, in this case, like a (soda) jerk—Dean happily puts it on. "Should I do my speech in my soda outfit?" he asks. Someone suggests that perhaps he shouldn't.

After his speech, Dean, again ignoring the rules, takes part in a Stella's tradition. Putting his soda outfit back on, he holds an empty glass on his head and smiles while a waiter pours a freshly-made milkshake into it. Another candidate might fear that a photo would appear in the national papers and make him look like an idiot. But Dean doesn't worry, and his campaign in fact posts the photo on its website.

As Dean laughs and drinks milkshakes and raises money for congressional Democrats, Dick Gephardt plods along. A few hours after Dean's raucous scene at Stella's, Gephardt is in the southwest Iowa town of Red Oak (pop. 6,197) speaking to a tiny group, about 35 mostly retired people, gathered in the local fire station. He tells them, as he always does, that he will try to protect American jobs by raising employment standards all around the world so that companies won't send jobs to low-paid workers overseas. The audience sits quietly—no applause, no response, no nothing. Gephardt tries to exhort them, to build a little enthusiasm. "This will be fun!" he says. "This will be good! This will be optimistic!"

No one says a word. **NR**

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The "Geneva Accord"

Is it the way to lasting peace in the Middle East or to disaster?

With great hoopla, two private citizens, unconnected with and unauthorized by their respective governments, have taken it upon themselves to produce the draft of a "peace treaty," which would finally bring an end to the century-old struggle between Jews and Arabs. The treaty, the "Geneva Accord," would almost immediately bring about a "Palestinian" state.

What are the facts?

Negotiators without standing: Yossi Beilin, the "negotiator" for the Israeli side, has no official standing at all. He is a former minister of justice, but has been repudiated by the Israeli electorate. His Arab counterpart Yasser Abed Rabbo has no standing either. He is said to have Yasser Arafat's ear, whatever that may be worth.

This is extraordinary. It is as if an American citizen, say, for instance, Al Gore or Pat Buchanan, were to negotiate with an Iraqi confidant of Saddam Hussein about the American-Iraqi relationship.

> "The Geneva Accord is a Trojan Horse, meant to destroy the State of Israel. The world and Israel should firmly repudiate it."

Apart from the sheer illegitimacy of this process, provisions of this Accord need examination. They are, without exception, damaging to Israel, which, as usual, is asked to make all "concessions." If this Accord were to come to fruition, it would threaten the very survival of Israel as a Jewish state. The Accord cedes the Temple Mount, the Jewish people's holiest of holies, the focus of its two-thousand-year yearning, to the "Palestinians." Jews could be admitted only at the sufferance of the Muslims. Why would any Jew concede the very soul of his people and of his nation? Would the Muslims concede Mecca, would the Catholic Church concede the Vatican?

But there are equally or perhaps even more weighty matters than these "sentimental" considerations. Under this Accord, Israel would agree to almost total withdrawal from Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") and Gaza, dramatically increasing the number of "settlers" who would have to be repatriated. Since the Accord considers them to be "illegal occupiers" no compensation would be conceded to them. Under the Accord, the high ground dominating the Tel Aviv region and the central coastal strip would be in "Palestinian" hands. More than seventy per cent of Israel's population lives in that area and most of its industrial and military capacity and its major civilian airport are located there. Only a fool could believe that the Arabs, who have broken every provision of the vaunted Oslo Accord, would not avail themselves of the opportunity of critically damaging or, if possible, totally destroying the Israeli state.

Israel naked before its enemies: Further, the suggested transfer of the Jordan River Valley, Israel's first line of defense against attack from the east, would put it into an untenable military position. Any safety net, any viable security for Israel would disappear. Israel would lie virtually naked and helpless before its mortal enemies if this disastrous Accord were ever implemented.

The Accord is ambiguous about the so-called "right of return." There is apparently no longer insistence that *all* "refugees" be allowed to settle in Israel. The "refugees" are the descendants of those who, at the urging of the Arab armies that invaded the Jewish state at the very day of its founding, fled the fighting. There were about 500,000 of them; they have now miraculously swelled to five million. Nobody talks about returning the millions of German refugees to what is now Poland and Czechoslovakia, and nobody dreams of compensating them. But under the Geneva Accord, all those "refugees" are to be paid "compensation," which could amount to hundreds of billions of dollars. Significantly, no compensation is countenanced for the about 800,000 Jews, who were expelled or who had to flee for their lives from the Arab countries, where in most cases they had lived for over 1,000 years.

Under the Geneva Accord, Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank"), which, together with Gaza, would form the "Palestinian" state, is to be free of Jews, made *judenrein*, in line with the Nazi model. But how about the over one million Arabs who live and prosper in Israel? Would it not be fair and reciprocal if they were transferred from "Israel proper" and were moved into the new "Palestinian" state? The Geneva Accord does not address this obvious question, and nobody else does either.

If the Geneva Accord were accepted and implemented, it would be an unmitigated disaster for Israel. It would give its holiest site, the very essence of the Zionist dream, to its Arab enemies. It would accept perhaps hundreds of thousands of so-called "refugees," which would thus finish Israel as a Jewish state. It would make Israel militarily indefensible. The Geneva Accord is a Trojan Horse, meant to destroy the State of Israel. The world and Israel should firmly repudiate it.

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■ 2004 II

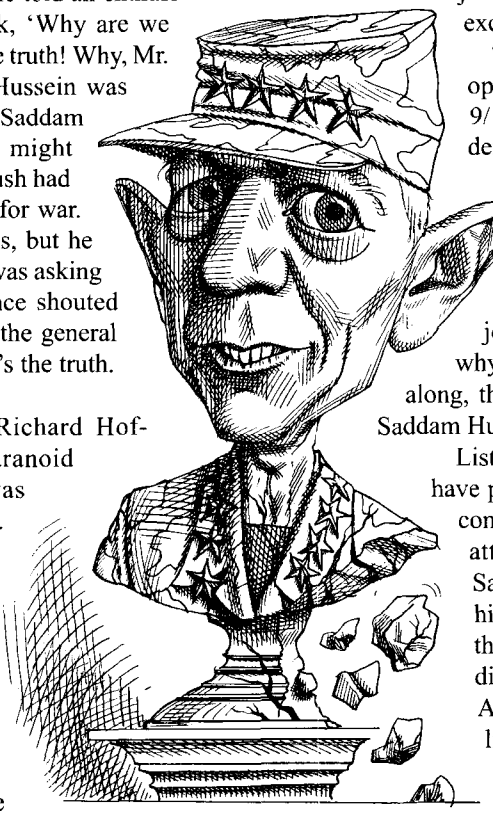
A General's Campaign

Kucinich, Moseley Braun, and Sharpton were supposed to be the kook candidates—have you been following Wesley Clark?

JAY NORDLINGER

THE entry of Wesley Clark into the Democratic race was interesting. Here was a highly decorated general, running for president in time of war. War and peace has not been the Democrats' strong suit, to put it mildly, since about JFK. Surely General Clark would have worthwhile things to say, operating in a party sorely in need of clearer thinking on the war—and clearer, more rational opposition to President Bush. Remarkably, the general has proved just about the most irresponsible candidate of the bunch. He has been flaky, extreme, and—although this is a heavy charge to make against such a man—short on honor.

His campaign began with a bang. He told an enthusiastic audience, "We are going to ask, 'Why are we engaged in Iraq, Mr. President? Tell the truth! Why, Mr. President? Was it because Saddam Hussein was assisting the hijackers? Was it because Saddam Hussein had a nuclear weapon that might bring a nuclear cloud?'" Of course, Bush had stated many, many times his reasons for war. You might have scorned these reasons, but he undoubtedly had them. And as Clark was asking why we had entered Iraq, his audience shouted out, "Oil!" Then "Halliburton!" And the general responded, "We don't know. And that's the truth. And we have to ask that question."



ROMAN GENN

Many years ago, the historian Richard Hofstadter gave us the phrase "the paranoid style in American politics." He was referring to elements of the Right. Now that style belongs in large portion to the Left, and Wesley Clark—a new Democrat, if not a New one—has adopted it with gusto. We could see, from that campaign launch, that this candidate would not bring sobriety.

One of Clark's themes is that President Bush failed to protect the nation from the 9/11 attacks. As Clark has put it, "George Bush was sworn in in January 2001—a full nine months before the attacks. That day he took the oath that every commander-in-chief of our nation has taken: to defend our nation and to protect the lives of the American people. But for nine months he did not live up to that oath." Why? Because the president "was focused single-mindedly on missile defense, the centerpiece of his foreign policy." On another occasion, Clark said, "They [the administration] disregarded the warnings of the intelligence community and the Clinton administration on what the greatest threat to America was. They marched to their own drumbeat and they got caught out of step and it cost 3,000 people their lives in this country." So, the 2004 election will center on Bush's "failure to keep the American people safe from 9/11."

Talk about a heavy charge. This may be the heaviest. But is it a reasonable or honorable one? There were many failures leading to September 11: failure in our intelligence agencies, failure in our foreign-policy establishment, which did not grapple seriously with terrorism for decades. The terror problem did not begin on January 20, 2001. The Clinton administration—which Clark is running in part to defend and exalt—had eight years to deal with al-Qaeda. Even allowing for politics, it is hardly sober or honorable to charge President Bush with personal culpability for those 3,000 dead.

When Clark speaks of Bush and Iraq, he does so in the same tones as Dennis Kucinich, or a college activist. "He's repeated his father's war." "This administration took us to war recklessly and without need to do so." Clark's persistent line is that Bush ignored al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden in favor of Iraq and Saddam Hussein. He says that Bush had all along a secret plan—a "neocon" plan, he says, getting with the lingo—and just looked for an excuse to destroy Saddam, an excuse that 9/11 provided.

"I think they came into office looking for the opportunity, not quite sure how to get it. And 9/11—presto. Perfect opportunity." "The president of the United States deliberately misled the American people away from a struggle against Osama bin Laden. He did a bait-and-switch on us and substituted Saddam Hussein." "The failure of this administration was not to put the troops in to finish the job against Osama bin Laden. And you know why they didn't do it? They didn't do it because, all along, their plan was to save those troops to go after Saddam Hussein."

Listen to a bit more: "A wise leadership would not have put us into Iraq at this time. Instead we'd have concentrated on Osama bin Laden. We knew who attacked this country on 9/11, and it was not Saddam Hussein. It was Osama bin Laden and his terrorist network. We should have gone after that network and we should have gone after it directly instead of taking half the United States Army and putting it in Iraq and using $150 billion and distracting us from our world leadership in the war on terror."

These comments raise many questions. First,

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how do you "concentrate" on bin Laden (if he is in fact still alive—and even if he is not)? This is a great Democratic talking point, and it has been intensified now that the elusive Saddam has been captured, for obvious reasons. But what makes Clark and others imagine that the choice is either-or: either "do" Saddam or "do" Osama? It takes a strange mind to suppose that President Bush is not moving heaven and earth to run bin Laden to ground. A senior administration official raises what he calls "a narrow, nasty, amoral political point: The capture of bin Laden is so obviously in Bush's interest—the crushing of al-Qaeda is so obviously in his interest—I mean, why wouldn't the president be trying! Of course we are!"

Recall Clark's words: *We should have gone after that network and we should have gone after it directly.* Did the general somehow miss the Afghan campaign? Did he miss the ruin of the Taliban—al-Qaeda's chief patron—and the utter disruption and dispersal of al-Qaeda itself? Does he doubt that U.S. forces killed as many al-Qaeda as possible, and are continuing to do so?

Then there is the notion that the administration shifted the military from al-Qaeda to Iraq—that, in Clark's words, it "saved" troops to "go after" Saddam. The senior administration official points out that "there are more special-forces troops in Afghanistan than in Iraq." So "the contention that we have forgotten al-Qaeda and bin Laden is false." To be sure, American resources are not infinite, and you could argue that there are CIA operatives and the like who are working in Iraq who instead should be in Afghanistan. "But the United States has a lot of interests," and, in the case of the War on Terror, "the thigh bone is connected to the hip bone." To say that one should tackle al-Qaeda but not Iraq is like saying that "we should not have fought Germany because we were fighting Japan"; or that, in the Cold War, "we should have let Berlin go and kept them out of Cuba. Life is a little more complex."

Granted, Clark, along with many others, refuses to see any connection between the regime of Saddam Hussein and terror. But that is a question of educability, and probably of blind political partisanship. Says this senior administration official, "Consider state support for terrorism: We have gotten Afghanistan and Iraq out of the business. More and more it appears that Libya is out of the business. Sudan used to be a base; it is no longer." The loss of these states is a blow to al-Qaeda, dangerous though it still is.

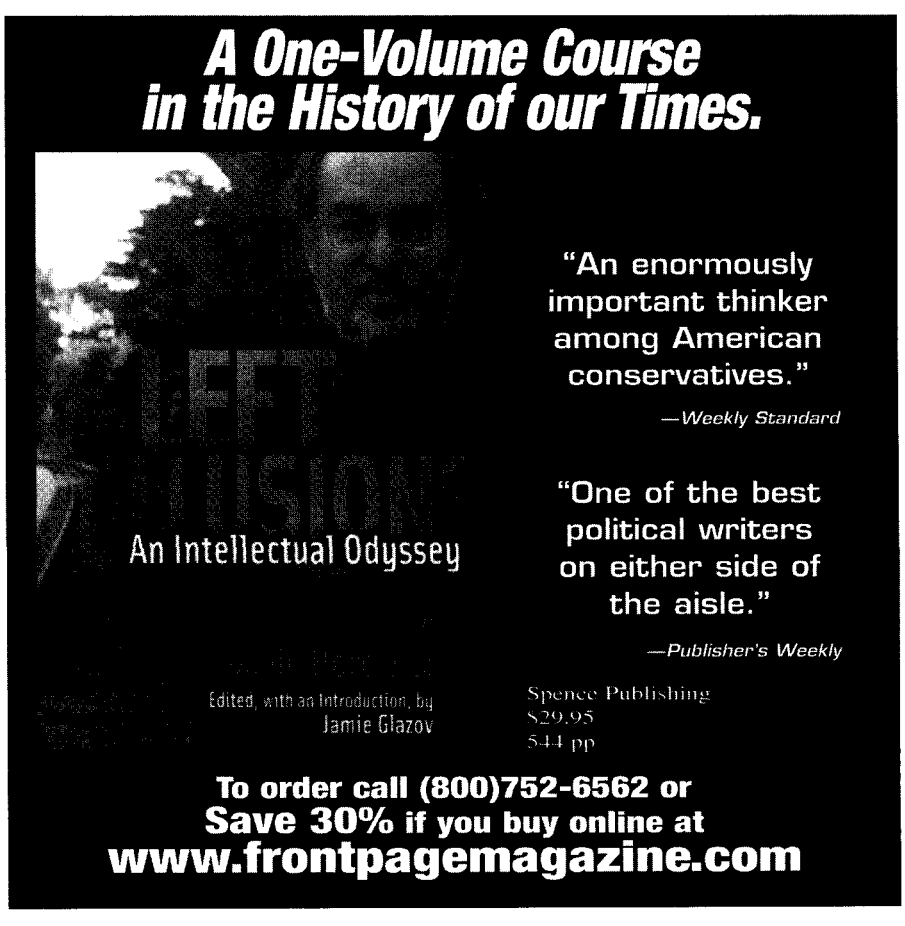
And what of the charge that the U.S. Army could somehow be deployed against al-Qaeda (instead of wasting time and lives in Iraq)? Sadly, al-Qaeda is a different kind of foe, to be fought mainly in the shadows. As the official asks, "How could we have 'saved' the 82nd Airborne for al-Qaeda? Where does General Clark plan to put the First Infantry in the fight against al-Qaeda? This is really a classic twilight struggle" (a phrase memorably applied to the Cold War by President Kennedy).

To hear Clark tell it, "If I'd been president, I would have had Osama bin Laden by this time." You might dismiss this remark as an expression of campaign fever, Bush-hating, or military braggadocio. But you would probably not call it temperate or honorable.

JAW-DROPPER AFTER JAW-DROPPER

In his months as a candidate, Clark has not let go of the oil theme. He says, "I'm one of those people who doesn't believe in occupying countries to extract their natural resources. I think you buy them on the world market." Once more, we are in Kucinich, or College Activist, Land. Who but the loopiest of the administration's critics believes that the U.S. is in Iraq in order to "extract their natural resources"? On the contrary, American forces are helping Iraqis themselves to do so, as part of the overall effort to put that country on its feet and eliminate it as a regional and world menace. General Clark's spokesman, Chris Lehane, chimed in, "George W. Bush's rewarding of campaign contributor Halliburton makes it clear for all to see that he is of Big Oil, for Big Oil, and 'buy' Big Oil. He is more concerned about the success of Halliburton than having a success strategy in Iraq." Note *more concerned.*

The Clark campaign has become known for its about-faces, stunning in their brazenness. The general once praised the president's national-security team in lavish terms; now he de-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nounces it as rabid and threatening. He once understood the need for preemptive war—no longer.

Clark's Republican opponents are happy to supply a passage from his 2001 book, *Waging Modern War*: "Surely, the key lesson [of Kosovo] must be that nations and alliances should move early to deal with crises while they are still ambiguous and can be dealt with more easily, for delay raises both the costs and the risks. Early action is the objective to which statesmen and military leaders should aspire." About Iraq in particular, he said—in October 2002—"Certainly in certain cases we should go to war before our enemies strike, and I think this situation applies here . . ." When Coalition forces entered Baghdad, Clark wrote, "President Bush and Tony Blair should be proud of their resolve in the face of so much doubt." But here is the new Wesley Clark, in September 2003: "It was called 'preventive war.' It's an outrageous idea. That you would start a war to prevent a war! I mean, it's nutty." Soon after, he hurled a challenge at the Democratic leadership in Congress: "Let's see you take apart that doctrine of preemption now! I don't think we can wait until November of 2004 . . ."

No one can accuse Clark of not being an enthusiastic new Democrat. In answer to a question on military pay increases, the general said, "I think there's a fundamental difference between Republicans and Democrats on this issue, because it's simply true: The Republicans do like weapons systems and the Democrats like people." Nancy Pelosi could not have said it better herself—although even she, it seems, has ceased talking like that.

Aside from questions of consistency and honor, there is the matter of . . . well, flakiness. General Clark has stated that, as president, he would "pledge" to the Europeans: "You get the right of first refusal on the security concerns that we have." For generations, a guiding principle of American foreign policy has been that the we have "permanent interests," not "permanent alliances." General Clark declared before the Council on Foreign Relations (no less), "The bottom line is this: The Bush administration is not interested in permanent alliances." Clark wishes Osama bin Laden—if alive, and apprehended—to be tried at The Hague, not by the United States. An interviewer, Chris Matthews, pointed out that The Hague would allow no death penalty. Clark replied, "I think you that you can adequately punish Osama bin Laden, and you've got to look beyond simple retribution against an individual." Matthews asked, "But doesn't life in Holland beat life in a cave?" Clark: "Not in a Dutch prison. Chris, they're under water, they're damp, they're cold, they're really miserable."

About the nightmarish problem of Pyongyang, Clark says, "I would talk to the North Koreans immediately, to persuade them that their security is enhanced if they give up their nuclear weapons. We don't know what it will take to persuade them, but we can't learn it without talking to them." He asserted that Donald Rumsfeld "had to leak his own memo." (This was the famous memorandum in which the defense secretary grilled his lieutenants on terror-war strategy.) How did Clark know that Rumsfeld himself had leaked the memo? "Well, that's what the rumor is, and it's been talked about on the Sunday talk shows." Speaking of talk shows, Clark claimed that the White House tried to get him fired as a commentator on CNN. He also claimed that the White House leaned on him to tout an Iraq connection to 9/11. There was not a wisp of evidence for either claim, and Clark's evolving explanations were comical.

When you study Wesley Clark—the record and the persona—you can honestly believe that he was serious when he said, "I would have been a Republican if Karl Rove had returned my phone calls." (Incidentally, there is no record that any such phone calls were ever made.)

The flakiness is sort of fun—but the other side of Clark is less amusing. What he has said on the stump has been scandalous, far beyond the limits of acceptable rough-and-tumble. The Bush administration has decided—for reasons one can argue with—that the arrival of soldiers' coffins at Dover Air Base will not be televised. Clark calls this "a blatantly political move by an administration that's trying to cover up the sacrifices and heroism of the men and women who are serving and sacrificing in Iraq." And he has said, "We've got a president who will go halfway around the world for a photo opportunity [this presumably refers to Bush's visit with the troops at Thanksgiving] but won't go halfway across town for a funeral for an American serviceman." And he has said, "We have an American president who visits the families of bereaved Britons [while in England] and won't visit our own families in this country." The president has met with families privately, but refuses to make a show of it, respecting the gravity of this war and his responsibilities as commander-in-chief.

Clark's flakiness is sort of fun—but the other side of Clark is less amusing. What he has said on the stump has been scandalous, far beyond the limits of acceptable rough-and-tumble.

A last word from Clark: "[The administration] is trying to dishonor the very Americans who are over there serving and fighting and dying by not letting us welcome the remains back home." No one is prohibited from welcoming remains back home. People in towns all over the country have. But aside from that small fact: George W. Bush is *trying to dishonor* American soldiers?

The shame is all Clark's, and the dishonor, too. **NR**

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the long view

ROB LONG

Bush v. Dean, throughout the ages . . .

FADE IN:

Interior—Camp David—Day

President George W. Bush sits on a sofa, watching football and eating tortilla chips. Karl Rove enters, carrying a small bowl of avocado dip.

ROVE
Mr. President, do you have a moment?

PRESIDENT BUSH
Did you bring me some more dip?

ROVE
Got it right here.

PRESIDENT BUSH
Then I guess I've got a minute. What's up?

ROVE
Well, sir, as you know, it's looking highly likely that Governor Howard Dean of Vermont—

PRESIDENT BUSH
The little guy, the one with the . . . (HE SQUINCHES HIS FACE UP)

ROVE
No, sir. That's Dennis Kucinich. Howard Dean is the former governor of Vermont.

PRESIDENT BUSH
Not the Ichabod Crane guy?

ROVE
That's Kerry.

PRESIDENT BUSH
Pumpkin head kind of thing?

ROVE
Gephardt.

PRESIDENT BUSH
Drawing a blank here.

ROVE
(SHOWING A PHOTO)
He looks like this.

PRESIDENT BUSH
(STARING AT PHOTO)
Hmmmmmm.

ROVE
Does he look familiar to you, sir? Because he seems awfully angry at you—and I guess we're all wondering if it's, maybe, some kind of personal thing, from when you were both back at Yale, or a family thing, or something?

PRESIDENT BUSH
(WATCHING THE TELEVISION)
Not ringing a bell, gotta tell you.

Rove stands in front of the President, trying to get his attention and blocking the television.

ROVE
Are you sure, sir?

PRESIDENT BUSH
Sure I'm sure. Now get out of the TV road.

Rove exits, leaving the photo on the coffee table. President Bush stares at it for a moment, thinking, remembering . . .

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior—Old Campus, Yale University 1967—Night

A circle of college men, surrounding a few freshmen. They're standing next to Durfee Hall, holding a giant beer bong that extends down from a fourth floor window. A young freshman totters around drunkenly. The crowd laughs.

YOUNG GEORGE BUSH
(LAUGHING)
Okay, freshmen! Who's next? How about you?

He points to a young-looking freshman, in a button-down shirt with the sleeves rolled up.

YOUNG HOWARD DEAN
No, thank you. I prefer not to.

YOUNG GEORGE BUSH
You prefer—what? C'mon! Chug! Chug!

The crowd erupts into chants of "chug, chug, chug, chug!"

YOUNG HOWARD DEAN
No! No, I won't! I don't want to become tipsy and disoriented.

YOUNG GEORGE BUSH
What's your name, kid?

YOUNG HOWARD DEAN
I'm Howard Dean!

YOUNG GEORGE BUSH
I'm George Bush. Put 'er there . . .

He holds out his hand.

YOUNG HOWARD DEAN
I won't shake your hand, George Bush! Not after what your grandmother said to my grandmother on her wedding day, you brute!

YOUNG GEORGE BUSH
You wanna do a beer bong or not, kid?

YOUNG HOWARD DEAN
It was long ago, perhaps, but the sting remains . . .

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior—East Hampton Lawn 1916—Day

Brilliant sunshine. An impossibly blue sky. WE PAN across a lawn decorated for a wedding. An orchestra tunes up in the background. Guests mingle in seersucker and silk. Champagne corks pop.

YOUNG HOWARD DEAN (VOICEOVER)
It should have been my grandmother's happiest day . . .

THE CAMERA MOVES into a magnificent mansion, INTO THE HALLWAY, UP THE STAIRS, we GLIDE ALONG to a room. Two women, the bride and the bridesmaid, are getting ready for the ceremony. The bride puts the finishing touches on her dress. She turns, eyes wide and filled with nervous excitement, to her bridesmaid.

BRIDE
How do I look?

BRIDESMAID
Honestly? I think with your hair like that you look a little . . . well . . . I'm sorry to say but you look just a very little bit Irish.

The bride bursts into hysterical sobs.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior—Old Campus, Yale University 1967—Night

YOUNG HOWARD DEAN
. . . my grandmother never recovered from that insult. And that's why I swore an oath to hate all the Bushes, forever and ever. Now do you understand why I . . .

He looks up to see that the crowd has moved on. Another freshman is in the circle. The group is chanting "chug, chug, chug, chug, chug!" as he finishes. Young George Bush looks up, sees Young Howard Dean, and says . . .

YOUNG GEORGE BUSH
Hey, kid, how about you next? What's your name again?

Young Howard Dean glowers with rage . . .

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior—Camp David—Night

President George W. Bush looks at the photo of Gov. Howard Dean quizzically, trying to place the face. He thinks. Then, slowly, it dawns on him . . .

PRESIDENT BUSH
Did I buy a car from that guy once?

FADE OUT.

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HELP!!!!

RAMIREZ
04
DON'T CRY WOLF! RAISE THE TERROR ALERT! LOWER THE TERROR ALERT! DO MORE! DO LESS! YOU HAVEN'T DONE ENOUGH! YOU ARE VIOLATING OUR CIVIL RIGHTS!! ACT NOW! DON'T BE HASTY!
Politics
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY

THE MONDAY MORNING QUARTERBACK

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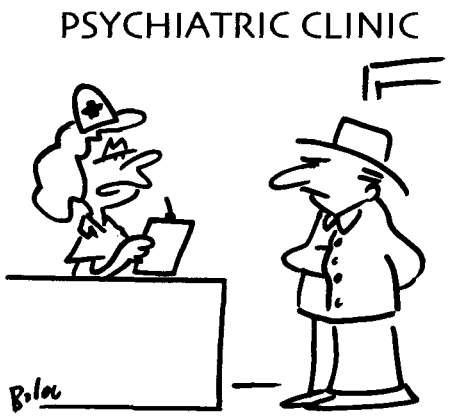
Is That You, Hillary?

Just back from Kabul and Baghdad,
She gets off broadsides from her pad
In squishy New York that make Chuck—
They nod, but loathe each other—cluck
Like hens importuned by a cock.
It's all so sudden: *See her sock*
Those sour Dems and spoilsports who,
When Bremer's manic, hiss and boo.

—W. H. von Dreele



"Who can we notify in case of emergency other *than Josephine Bonaparte?"*

"YUP. DEFINITELY MAD COW DISEASE."

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2004 Bermuda Cruise

Sailing May 12–19 on Radisson Seven Sea Cruises' MS *Navigator* with former Education Secretary **WILLIAM BENNETT**, former CIA Director **JAMES WOOLSEY**, and *NR* editorial all-stars **RICH LOWRY**, **JOHN O'SULLIVAN**, and **JAY NORDLINGER**

Here's your special opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the *National Review* 2004 **Bermuda Cruise** Featuring an incredible cast of All Star speakers (and some incredibly affordable rates!), this truly special trip will take place May 12–19, 2004, aboard **Radisson Seven Seas Cruises**'s MS *Navigator*—the acclaimed ship of the world's highest rated cruise line.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet preeminent conservatives and policy-makers: "Definites" for this voyage are former Education Secretary and celebrated author **William Bennett**, former Central Intelligence Agency director **James Woolsey**, and *National Review* editorial heavyweights **Rich Lowry**, **John O'Sullivan**, and **Jay Nordlinger**. All (other top speakers have been invited–we're awaiting their replies) will be along for the seven luxurious days of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.

Make that *top*-of-the-world-class cruising. For those who demand the very best, the *Navigator* is custom-made for you. But with prices starting at an incredibly *low* $2,999 a person, the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** is "custom-made" for just about anyone! Unsurpassed service, sumptuous cuisine, spacious accommodations, and luxury, luxury, luxury are the hallmarks of this acclaimed ship.

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Fine crusing aside (more on that below), meeting top policy-makers and leading conservatives is *the* highlight of *NR*'s voyages, and, as with our past trips, on the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** you'll have great opportunities to spend "quality time"—whether at the six seminars we have planned (each two hours long, and featuring scintillating discussions of current events, plus your participation via lively Q&A!), or at the exclusive three cocktail receptions or two late-night smokers (featuring **H. Upmann**'s truly *superior* cigars and a complimentary cognac) that are in store, or over a gourmet dinner with our editors and speakers (our goal is to schedule you to dine intimately with our sailing dignitaries on two nights).

This will be *NR*'s second trip to **Bermuda**, and we're happy to be returning to this beautiful island. It never gets old: Sauntering through these charming cities of **Hamilton** and **St. George** (still steeped, like the customary afternoon tea, in the traditions of British colonial life) during the day, enjoying the nightlife, relaxing on the rose-blushed sands of Bermuda's gorgeous beaches–all of this and more (like the numerous excellent excursions Radisson will provide) awaits you. Oh yes: The *Navigator* will *also* make a lengthy visit to **Norfolk**, from which fascinating tours to Colonial Williamsburg, Jamestown, Yorktown, and other Virginia landmarks are available.

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Wed./May 12	New York City		5:00PM	
Thur./May 13	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
Fri./May 14	Hamilton	8:00 AM		afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Sat./May 15	Hamilton	Overnight		afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sun./May 16	St. George	7:00AM	4:00PM	
Mon./May 17	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
Tues./May 18	Norfolk	7:00AM	5:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Wed./May 19	New York City	8:00AM		

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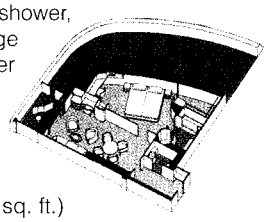
MASTER SUITE Supreme luxury quarters (1,067 sq. ft.) feature private verandah (106 sq. ft.), king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, butler service, walk-in closets, and much more.



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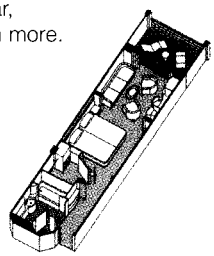
BALCONY SUITES Spacious room (301 sq. ft.) features private verandah (55 sq. ft.), king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more. "Penthouse" level has Butler Service.



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DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,399 P/P
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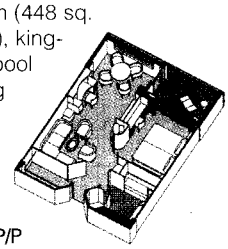

Category NS
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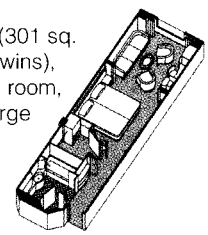

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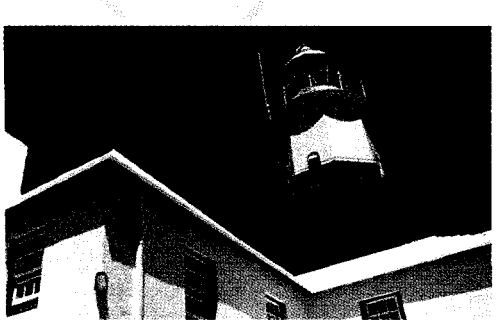
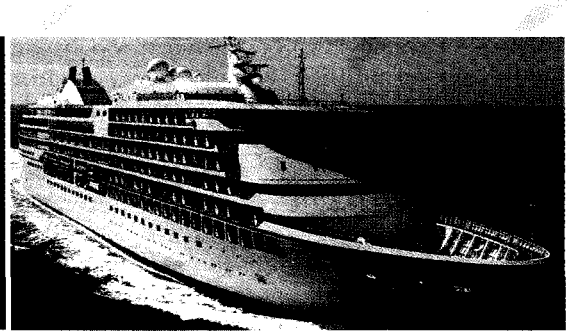
The ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise** will be a fabulous seven-day experience. Be part of it: Join **Bill Bennett** (who'll be discussing the *kulturkampf* and more), **James Woolsey** (who can give a more informed take on the war against terrorism than the former head of the CIA?!), and *NR* editors **Rich Lowry, John O'Sullivan,** and **Jay Nordlinger** (and other top speakers who have been invited) for a delightful week aboard the *Navigator*. To reserve your cabin, or to get more information, call The Cruise Authority at 1-800-707-1634 or visit **www.nationalreviewcruise-bermuda.com**. Act now: The *Navigator* holds but 490 passengers, and cabins (already 50 have been reserved by *NR* readers!) are selling out quickly. Don't let yourself get shut out of what will be a true once-in-a-lifetime experience. Don't miss the ***National Review* 2004 Bermuda Cruise**.





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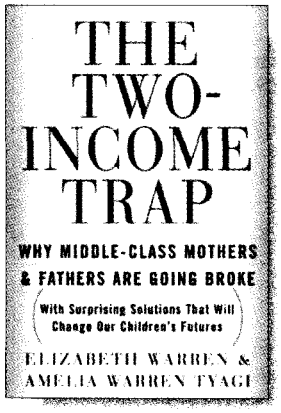
Rediscovering the Family


THE TWO-INCOME TRAP
WHY MIDDLE-CLASS MOTHERS & FATHERS ARE GOING BROKE
With Surprising Solutions That Will Change Our Children's Futures
ELIZABETH WARREN & AMELIA WARREN TYAGI

The Two-Income Trap: Why Middle Class Mothers and Fathers Are Going Broke (With Surprising Solutions That Will Change Our Children's Futures), by Elizabeth Warren and Amelia Warren Tyagi (Basic, 272 pp., $26)

ALLAN CARLSON

THIS book is a fine example of post-feminist angst. On one hand, the authors remain firmly bound to "the best part of the feminist movement—the rock-solid belief that women who want to work should have every opportunity to do so." On the other hand, they document how this feminist economic project has produced widespread disaster for American families, children . . . and women as well.

Harvard bankruptcy-law professor Elizabeth Warren and her daughter Amelia Warren Tyagi report that the feminists' coveted "two-breadwinner family" has, in practice, brought the "dance of financial ruin." Back in 1981, a mere 69,000 women had their names on bankruptcy petitions; by 2001, over 500,000 women did. Bearing a child has now become "the single best predictor that a woman will end up in financial collapse." Married couples with children are more than twice as likely to file for bankruptcy as their childless counterparts. Women entering "the feminist dream"—a fresh no-fault divorce, custody of the children, ample child support, a good middle-class job, a nice home—face even greater odds of disaster. More than one of every six such mothers will file for bankruptcy in the current decade; among newly single mothers who attended college, the rate is higher still.

Two-breadwinner families, it turns out, are simply awash in debt. In 1981, savings made up 11 percent of average personal income, and credit-card debt 4 percent. By 2000, savings were minus 1 percent and credit-card debt a sobering 12 percent. Overall, inflation-adjusted credit-card debt rose from $10 billion in 1968 to a staggering $600 billion in 2000. Nearly half of American households are near the line where turning to bankruptcy makes good economic sense.

How did this happen? Warren and Tyagi argue persuasively that mass "overconsumption" is not the problem. Americans actually spend proportionately less these days on items such as food and clothing than they did in the 1960s. Instead, the authors point to the unintended consequences of sending 20 million American mothers to work. Rather than gaining more disposable household income, families saw real wages for men decline: the predictable result of more laborers pursuing the same number of jobs. Day-care bills and higher marginal taxes combined with the costs of a second car and swollen restaurant bills to absorb a good share of the mothers' new income. The higher nominal incomes of two-earner families also led to a fresh "bidding war" for nice homes in good suburban school districts, sending mortgage costs soaring.

At times, Warren and Tyagi become almost rhapsodic in praise of the old-fashioned homemaker.

Most important, the oft-derided stay-at-home mother proved to have been the true "safety net" in American life. When her husband suddenly lost his job or became seriously ill, the homemaker was there to find employment and protect the family living standard. Or when a child or elderly parent suddenly needed special care, the homemaker was again available to serve, without any loss in family income. Contemporary two-income households have already built their budgets around their full potential earning power. When the unexpected strikes—a layoff, a debilitating illness, a divorce—financial disaster looms.

At times, Warren and Tyagi become almost rhapsodic in praise of the old-fashioned homemaker. "A stay-at-home mother served as the family's ultimate insurance against unemployment and disability," they write. "When mothers joined the workforce, the family gave up something of considerable (although unrecognized) economic value: an extra skilled and dedicated adult, available to pitch in to help save the family during times of emergency." The authors could have also cited the vital productive role played by the mother-at-home: the maternal nursing, the child care, the home maintenance, the gardening, canning, and sewing, the home-cooked meals; all clear economic gain for the family provided on a tax-free basis, and mostly lost when the mother went to work.

But Warren and Tyagi refuse to go that far, unwilling to let go of the last shreds of the feminist myth. They acknowledge that the family-wage regime of the 1940–65 era had protected family income and security by maintaining separate wage scales for men and women. They even write that "the policy was widely viewed as a normal feature of almost every 'family friendly' workplace," resting on the premise that "men needed these higher wages to support a family at home." Still, they dismiss the scheme as unfair, insisting that the "battle for full equality must

Mr. Carlson is president of the Howard Center and a fellow at the Family Research Council. His latest book is *The "American Way": Family and Community in the Shaping of the American Identity* (ISI).

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continue." Repeatedly, their argument leads to the logical conclusion that mothers should return home; and repeatedly, they turn to the non sequitur: "Are you kidding?"

This dogged attachment to a failed ideology distorts their analysis in other ways. They claim that "no one really knows" why working wives are 40 percent more likely to divorce than their stay-at-home counterparts. In fact, Gary Becker won a Nobel Prize in economics for explaining why: A married couple in which both spouses work outside the home has sacrificed the specialization of labor (i.e., breadwinner and homemaker) that gives real economic gain to their marital bond. Elsewhere, Warren and Tyagi simply assume that high levels of divorce are a given, rather than recognizing this as a consequence of the misguided "no-fault divorce" revolution of the late 1960s. The authors argue that "no one saw [this new situation] coming," a statement belied by even a casual look at Phyllis Schlafly's written work from the 1970s. The authors also ignore the role played by federal social engineering in securing this change, from the last-minute addition of the word "sex" to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (which destroyed the "family wage" regime) to the creation of massive federal tax subsidies for non-parental day care in the early 1970s.

Most of the policy ideas proposed in *The Two-Income Trap* also fall wide of the mark and well short of the "surprising solutions" promised in the book's subtitle. To solve the suburban "bidding war" for homes, they would institute vouchers within public-school districts, although this would do little to solve public education's deeper problems. To shelter two-income families from excessive debt, the authors turn to a fairly conventional liberal agenda that includes "publicly funded, universal preschool," more government-subsidized day care, and strict new regulation of the credit and banking industries.

Curiously, though, Warren and Tyagi sometimes hint at an alternative, far less statist approach. They admit, for example, that "even now, a generation after the Women's Revolution, the surest way for a woman to regain her financial footing after a divorce is to find a [new] husband—and to do it quickly." Alas, it turns out that a woman still needs a man! And, near the end of the book, they do finally acknowledge that keeping one parent full-time at home "isn't a bad solution" to the problems they outline. Moreover, the book does offer unexpectedly fresh discussions of "deadbeat dads" (it turns out there aren't very many of them) and the credit-card industry (where the current business strategy is to get financially troubled families "to borrow [still] more money"). So I welcome this book as a flawed but hopeful product. Reason seems to be making a comeback, even among the feminists. **NR**

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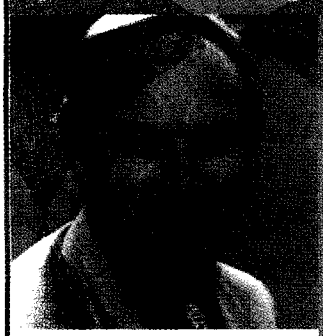

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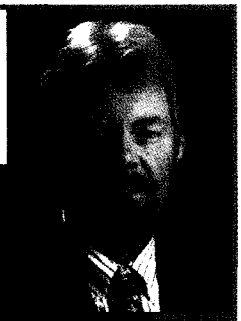

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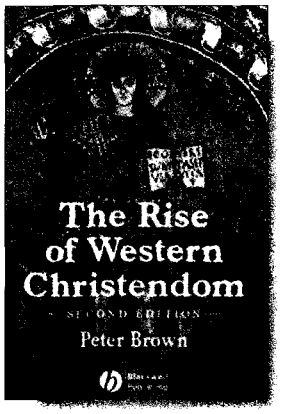
Epic of the West



The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, 200–1000 AD, 2nd ed., by Peter Brown (Blackwell, 640 pp., $29.95)

ROBERT LOUIS WILKEN

In this, his most mature book, Peter Brown, the author of the acclaimed biography of Augustine of Hippo, invites his readers to imagine things very big and to meditate on things very small. The largeness is found in the vast scope of the narrative, from the early years of Christian history up to the conversion of Iceland at the end of the first millennium; the smallness is evident in his uncanny eye for surprising and arresting details.

The conventional narrative of the rise of Western civilization runs something along these lines: For centuries Rome was the center of a civilization that reached from Britain in the north to North Africa and Egypt in the south to Syria in the east. In the 5th century the frontiers of the Empire collapsed and barbarians from the north invaded the territories once ruled by Rome. So began an age of chaos and ignorance, once depicted in history books as the "dark ages." Into this world came missionaries, often monks dispatched from Rome like Augustine of Canterbury, who was sent to convert the Saxons of Britain. With the conversion of the Franks to Catholic Christianity and the rise of a Carolingian kingdom straddling the Rhine, the ground was prepared for the building of European civilization. It was a story about the West told from the perspective of the West, with little attention paid to Byzantium, Christians of the East, or Islam.

One of the most commanding and readable exponents of this vision was the Catholic historian Christopher Dawson. In his account of the "making of Europe," the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome on Christmas Day 800 marked the "acceptance by the Western barbarians of the idea of unity for which the Roman Empire and the Catholic Church alike stood."

A quite different interpretation is associated with the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, whose *Mohammed and Charlemagne* appeared in English in 1939. Pirenne argued that unity was found not in Rome but in the Mediterranean itself: The great water basin over which Rome had cast its net of political authority was the nourishing mother that sustained ancient cultural and economic life. Even after the decline of the Western Empire the commercial life of the cities of the Mediterranean—with Constantinople at the center—irrigated the lands to the north. For Pirenne, too, the barbarians had little cultural or historical significance. But in his view what destroyed the cohesion of the ancient world was the rise of Islam, whose armies swiftly conquered the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean, marched across North Africa, and crossed the Straits of Gibraltar to subdue Christian Spain. With the conquest of Islam the Mediterranean was no longer a Roman sea and the balance of power shifted irrevocably to the north. Without Mohammed there would have been no Charlemagne.

Alas, the patient scholarship of the last generation has undermined the grand arches that rose over the telling of the rise of the West. Take, Brown says, the stereotype of the barbarians, these distinctive "Wagnerian figures with winged helmets, scale-mail breast-plates, cloaks trimmed with fur, and baggy trousers." Today we realize that the barbarians were not nomads, but farmers and peasants, and lived in much the same way as their neighbors in the Empire. In an illuminating image Brown describes the Empire's borders (along the Rhine and Danube) as a kind of catchment into which Roman and Germanic life flowed to create a new world at home with Roman ways and pulsing with energy. At the same time economic historians have shown that Pirenne's ruminations about the commercial vigor of the Mediterranean world after the fall of the Western Empire in 476 stand on sand: By 600, Brown asserts, Western Europe was in a state of economic "involution," and as the Empire receded, both society and economy collapsed. "Diversity, not unity, was the hallmark of an age without empire."

Roman and Germanic life flowed together to create a new world at home with Roman ways and pulsing with energy.

At this point a less gifted historian would have made "diversity" the theme of his book. But Brown is not conventional. He grants that the traditional idea of a center had to be abandoned, but he also knows that the narrative would lack coherence if there had been nothing to hold together the world that was aborning in the years from 500 to 1000. For Brown the glue is the "interconnectivity of Christianity," the extraordinary fact that the entire world (seen from the perspective of the Mediterranean), from Ireland on the edge of Europe to the steppes of Asia, shared a common Christian inheritance. Archaeologists, for example, discovered fragments of a schoolboy's copybook in northern Ireland and potsherds of another child from east of Samarkand in Central Asia. In one case the youngster spoke Irish but wrote in Latin, and in the other his

Mr. Wilken is professor of the history of Christianity at the University of Virginia. His most recent book is *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought: Seeking the Face of God.*

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native language was Soghdian but he was writing in Syriac, the international literary language of Eastern Christianity. Each was copying the Psalms of David.

Among the many features that set this account of the rise of Western Christianity apart is Brown's preoccupation with Eastern Christianity. At first this may strike the reader as idiosyncratic, but Brown knows what he is about. Again and again he emphasizes that the grand narrative of Christianity is not one that begins in Rome, moves to Gaul, and proceeds from there to the British Isles and Germany. Consequently, his first chapter deals with Syriac Christianity. What happened among Syriac-speaking Christians—of whom there were many—had little direct consequence for Christianity in the West, but the history of Christians in the East reminds us of the "sheer scale of the backdrop against which the emergence of a specifically Western Christendom took place."

The Rise of Western Christendom is a work of uncommon originality, prodigious learning, and literary grace.

Still, this is a book about the West, and the central chapters tell the story of Patrick and Boniface and Columbanus and Charlemagne and Alcuin and Anskar (the apostle of the Scandinavians) and all the other hardy and courageous monks, enterprising kings and queens, and dutiful warriors and peasants who march across the landscape of early medieval Europe. There are fascinating pages on the Vikings; thoughtful comments on the significance of penitentials, the manuals written to aid priests in hearing confession; keen observations on Latin and the rise of Romance languages; a paragraph on a Psalm verse engraved on the hilt of a Frankish sword found in Sweden; a description of the ancient pagan ritual used by Icelanders to decide whether to embrace Christianity; and on and on and on. The narrative is thick with detail, yet Brown never strays far from his central themes, the solidity and adaptability of Christianity and the fecundity of the "barbarian" peoples who gave the new religion its distinctive cast in the West.

The Rise of Western Christendom is a work of uncommon originality, prodigious learning, and literary grace. As one who has read (and reviewed) Brown's books for more than three decades I can only say that it is a gift beyond measure to have a historian of such greatness living among us. **NR**

JERUSALEM

Beautiful heights, city of a great King,
From the western coast my desire burns towards thee.
Pity and tenderness burst in me, remembering
Thy former glories, thy temple now broken stones.
I wish I could fly to thee on the wings of an eagle
And mingle my tears with thy dust.
I have sought thee, love, though the King is not there
And instead of Gilead's balm, snakes and scorpions.
Let me fall on thy broken stones and tenderly kiss them—
The taste of thy dust will be sweeter than honey to me.

—ROBERT MEZEY
after Halevi

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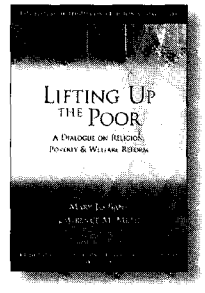

Lifting Up the Poor
A Dialogue on Religion, Poverty & Welfare Reform
Mary Jo Bane and Lawrence M. Mead
paper, 0-8157-0791-6, $16.95

It's often said that the two things one should not discuss in polite company are religion and politics. The books in this series break that mold. In *Lifting Up the Poor*, two of America's leading experts on welfare reform join in an informative, pointed, civil, and searching dialogue on poverty and welfare. They bring their exceptional expertise and deep religious commitments together to discuss the moral issues most Americans consider when they talk about poverty.

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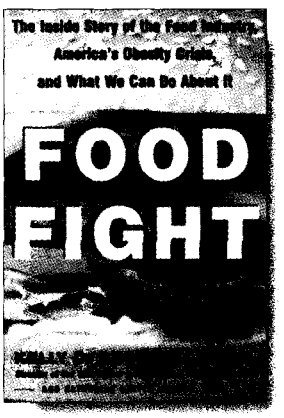
The Fat Police



Food Fight: The Inside Story of the Food Industry, America's Obesity Crisis, and What We Can Do About It, by Kelly D. Brownell and Katherine Battle Horgen (Contemporary Books, 352 pp., $24.95)

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

It is difficult to single out what is most objectionable about this hectoring, lecturing, and altogether dejecting piece of work, but perhaps it's the moment when its authors credit the rest of us with the IQs of greedy rodents. Quoting a study that shows that, presented with a cornucopia of carbohydrates and wicked fatty treats, laboratory rats will abandon a balanced, healthy diet in favor of dangerous excess, they draw a rather insulting conclusion: Civilization's success in creating so much abundance has come at a terrible price, a "toxic environment" so overflowing with temptation that, like those Rabelaisian rats, humanity will be unable to resist. We will eat ourselves if not to death, then to diabetes, decrepitude, and stretch pants.

The "obesity epidemic" is becoming a tiresome refrain and Yale professor Kelly Brownell is one of its most tireless advocates. Nevertheless, for those with the stomach for more on the fat threat, *Food Fight* is worth a look for what it reveals about the motives and objectives of the busybodies pining to police your plate.

But let's start with the "epidemic" itself. With a relish they are unlikely to show at the dinner table, the authors pepper their readers with data purporting to show that roughly two-thirds of Americans are overweight or obese, products of a feeding frenzy that is dangerous medically and drives up health-care costs by tens of billions of dollars. Some of the numbers may need to be taken with a pinch of low-sodium salt, but the trends they represent are a matter of concern. In this at least, *Food Fight* is right.

Over the past couple of decades, Americans have indeed put on some pounds. All too often, heavy isn't healthy. The mere fact of being too fat (calculating what is "too" fat takes more, however, than a wistful glance at the pages of *Vogue*) can cause problems such as arthritis and a range of other, sometimes serious, diseases. Despite this, corpulence should be seen as a *symptom* of ill health as much as a cause: Being fat won't necessarily kill you, but the sloth and the gluttony that got you there just might.

To their credit, the authors do cite research showing that fit fatties are at lower risk than unfit string beans. Still, they tend to concentrate on obesity as a problem in its own right—and, ironically, that's something that may be counterproductive. Befuddled by standardized notions of an ideal weight, Americans spend an estimated $40 billion a year in the generally unsuccessful pursuit of one miracle diet or another. The result is yo-yoing weight—something often less healthful than having a few too many pounds—and unjustified self-congratulation for a population that likes to tell itself that it is "doing something" about its health, when, in fact, it is doing anything but.

Highlighting fatness, that soft, billowing symbol of self-indulgence, reflects an agenda that has expanded beyond legitimate health concerns to embrace asceticism for its own sake. There's a hint of this in the way the authors respond to the idea that all foods can find a place in a properly balanced diet. While conceding that such an approach has "some utility" in individual cases, they see the argument that flows from it (that no food is intrinsically "bad") as a distraction. They are wrong. An emphasis on balance is the best chance of persuading this country to eat more healthily—and, importantly, to stick with this decision. To Brownell and Horgen, more comfortable with proscription and self-denial than compromise and cheeseburgers, this is, doubtless, dismayingly lax.

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Their language too is a giveaway. There is tut-tutting over the "glorification of candy" and anguish over restaurants "notorious" for their large portions. Under the circumstances, it's no shock that the reliably alarmist "Center for Science in the Public Interest," an organization famous for its efforts to drain away our pleasures, rates frequent and favorable mention.

Asceticism often brings with it a sense of moral superiority and the urge to spread the joys of deprivation amongst the less enlightened masses—by persuasion if possible, by compulsion if necessary, and sometimes by something that falls in between. So Brownell and Horgen lament the lack of "incentive" for recipients of food stamps to purchase "healthy foods." Common sense, apparently, is not enough. Worse, these wretches might even be tempted into "overbuying." Who knew the food-stamp program was so generous?

Mr. Stuttaford is a contributing editor of National Review Online.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT
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"I don't know how I ever did without it."
—Michael Barone,
U.S. News & World Report
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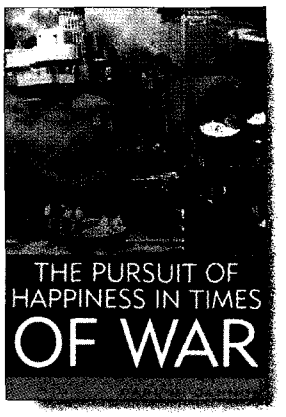
With tobacco a useful precedent, it's not difficult to see where all this is going. Brimming with tales of carnage, soaring health-care costs, and the threat to "the children," *Food Fight* follows a familiar script. That's not to say its writers don't make some telling points. The ways, for instance, in which junk food is marketed to America's no-longer-so-tiny tots *are* troubling, but at its core this book rests on the unpalatable belief that even adults cannot be trusted with a menu. The authors' solutions include regulation, censorship, subsidies, propaganda, public-spending boondoggles, and a faintly totalitarian-sounding "national strategic plan to increase physical activity." Oh, did I mention the "small" taxes on the sale of "unhealthy" food?

Food Fight is a preview of the techniques that will be used to persuade a chubby country to agree to all this. There are scare tactics (death! disease!), a convenient capitalist demon ("big food"), and, best of all, an alibi. It's not our fault that we are fat. Yes, the importance of getting up off that sofa is fully acknowledged in *Food Fight*, but the book's soothing subtext is that we are all so helpless in the face of advertising and abundance that we can no longer be held fully responsible for what we are eating. Even the ultimate alibi (food might be addictive!) makes a tentative appearance, but whether this theory is true is, readers are informed, not "yet" clear.

The notion that eating too much is somehow involuntary is ludicrous, but it fits in with the view repeated in this book that "overconsumption has replaced malnutrition as the world's top food problem," a repugnant claim that makes sense only if feast is indeed no more of a choice than famine. Anyone who believes that will have no problem in arguing that, as people cannot reasonably be expected to fend off Colonel Sanders by themselves, government should step in. And "if the political process is ineffective" (voters can be inconveniently ornery), Brownell and Horgen would back litigation. Such cases might be tricky, but even the threat of mass lawsuits "regardless of legal merit" could, they note, help "encourage" the food industry to change its ways.

And that thuggish suggestion is more nauseating than anything Ronald McDonald could ever cook up. **NR**

America's Path



The Pursuit of Happiness in Times of War, by Carl M. Cannon (Rowman & Littlefield, 318 pp., $24.95)

JEFFREY HART

In this exceptionally friendly book, journalist Carl Cannon explores what the word "Happiness" means in the famous phrase, "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness," found in the Declaration of Independence. Much of the conceptual power of this phrase derives from its linkage of the three: Life is necessary to liberty, and liberty to the pursuit of happiness. Cannon examines the sources of these words, deep in the traditions of Enlightenment political reflection, and the ways they have reverberated in American history since 1776, used by warriors and presidents, including Washington at Valley Forge.

The Confederates, Cannon notes, could make slavery compatible with it only by deeming slaves partially "men," and of course Lincoln answered this in his Gettysburg Address. George H. W. Bush, World War II flying hero, says here, in a heartwarming response to Cannon's inquiry, that he attained happiness through satisfaction in his family—thus reminding us that the word "happiness," for the Declaration, is a box to be filled in by the individual, its content not prescribed (as by Plato and much classical thought) as philosophical contemplation or (as by Christianity) as prayer and holiness.

While giving Jefferson credit for the "magical phrase," Cannon shows its long prehistory in Enlightenment political theory and the parallel documents of colonies, counties, and towns. In a felicitous passage, Cannon says it more resembles the Mormon Tabernacle Choir than a string quartet: It reflects the mind of the new nation as a whole.

Locke had spoken of life, liberty, and property—explaining that by property he meant the "natural rights of man" not given him by king or ruler—and of the State itself as the basis of a "social contract" between the governed and those who governed them. Prior to this social contract, man was in a mythical State of Nature. Many have asked, as need not be surprising, how a "natural right" as Locke posits it comports with the strict empiricism—sight, hearing, smell, touch, taste, however supplemented by instruments—of his *Essay on Understanding*. Where, amid his empirical facts, does Locke find a natural law? All or most men may say murder is wrong. But where is the law, as far as empiricism is concerned?

Cannon invokes Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762) as another possible source, because of its emphasis on liberty: "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." Taken literally, this is nonsense: A new infant is especially dependent. Rousseau has to mean that man was free in the original State of Nature. Like Locke, he is an anti-Hobbesian: Where Hobbes saw man's life in the State of Nature as savage—"solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"—Rousseau sees mankind as "born free," without qualification. For him, some of man's "chains" are desirable: They are not Hobbes's powerful sovereign but the small deliberative entity ruled by its majority. Ideally, such self-government renders these "chains" legitimate—but all the actual monarchies of Rousseau's Europe illegitimate. Was Rousseau thus utopian? Burke and Johnson thought so. Not so fast, argued political theorist Willmoore Kendall: Burke and Johnson had not read Rousseau's recommendations in the 1772 treatise *The Government of Poland*—which are highly prudential. As much as Burke, perhaps, Rousseau depends in practice upon the particulars of time, place, and history to form a judgment of the possible; he stresses the likely

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loss inseparable from change. Rousseau, meet Burke.

According to the Declaration, men are "created equal" with regard to those "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." But these rights are commonsensical and in the tradition of English law; they are also, in an important way, contingent. The man condemned to the gallows has forfeited his right to life, the man in prison his liberty; the highwayman cannot claim a right to the "pursuit of happiness." The Declaration leaves open the specific arrangements for implementing such rights under law.

In the Constitution we have that form specified. Here contingency is foremost, and the term "rights" never appears. The first three words, "We the People," specify precisely where the foundation of legitimacy lies, and the republican form is set up that was promised in the Declaration's statement that government derives its "just Powers from the Consent of the Governed." The self-governing people, through a deliberative process—made deliberate by built-in delaying features—decides under what laws it agrees to live. The goals are specified by the six purposes listed in the Preamble, the effectuation of new rights not among them. This Constitution and the Declaration are a seamless cloth.

But do the luminous words "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" express universal truths? If they are "self-evident" to human beings, then they must be universal. Cannon seems to believe they are. But such human rights certainly had not occurred to the Indians who are the subject of the 27th count of the indictment of George III—which follows the Preamble in the Declaration but is almost never read: "He has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare is an undistinguished Destruction of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions." Since the Declaration asks for wide agreement, in America but especially in Paris, "multiculturalism" clearly was not yet a widespread superstition.

But even apart from the "Indian savages," the "self-evident" truths were hardly self-evident to mankind in 1776. At best, we might argue that such truths were latent in those Indians, and also were latent outside Christian-Enlightenment Europe. Latent in, say, the Chinese or the Zulus? Would these people duly emerge from their conditions, given time? One might hope, I suppose. But Jefferson really seems to have had only Western civilization in mind, as when he wrote to Adams in 1821. Cannon quotes the letter: "I shall not die without a hope that light and liberty are on a steady advance. We have seen, indeed, once *within the records of history* a compleat eclipse of the human mind continuing for centuries. And this too by swarms of the same northern barbarians, conquering and taking possession of the countries and governments of *the civilized world*."

The phrases I have italicized speak for themselves. As Alexander Pope had written in 1727: "How little, mark! That portion of the ball [world] / Where, faint at best, the beams of Science [knowledge] fall."

But now we face a question. One notices today that the former English colonies—even Kenya—are doing much better those of Spain, Portugal, or even France, nations traditionally more authoritarian in religion and government, and communicating no tradition of self-government. In *Heart of Darkness*, and I do not wish to dislodge him from his esteem in the universities, Conrad attacks Belgian colonialism, not English. The great English ships going down the Thames and out to sea, he says, were "bearers of a spark from the sacred fire." How *English* is the Declaration-Constitution theory of government? How transferable outside the modern West? In most of the world, is free, representative government really latent, maybe "developing," to use a respectable word, like a photographic print in the acid bath (of Enlightenment)?

Until 1945, Germany, a modern nation, had representative government only during brief and despised Weimar; Japan until 1945 never had it, but is now a successful imitator, as, curiously, in so much else. Both nations had to be smashed in 1945; both seem to have come forward well. Africa remains Africa; Latin America, backward. But the Arab world? Stagnant, humiliated, as lethal as a nest of vipers. Carl Cannon's book possesses the intellectual excitement that forces us to frame the crucial questions in Jefferson's terms, questions of high policy now, and of life and death. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

Manji vs. the Mullahs

MICHAEL POTEMRA

MONOTHEISM has been afflicted throughout its history by backslidings into idolatry—the worship of the creature instead of the Creator. Mankind has been fortunate to have, in those periods of decay, prophetic voices of reform and restoration. One of those voices in our own time is . . . a Canadian lesbian feminist.

Irshad Manji is a 35-year-old pepperpot, and the author of the compelling—and deeply heartening—new book *The Trouble with Islam: A Muslim's Call for Reform in Her Faith* (St. Martin's, 240 pp., $22.95). Manji is a believing Muslim who is fearless in confronting the crimes and hypocrisies of the self-appointed leaders of her religion. "Not solely because of September 11, but more urgently because of it, we've got to end Islam's totalitarianism, particularly the gross human-rights violations against women and religious minorities," she writes. "If ever there was a moment for an Islamic reformation, it's now."

She recounts her experience in Muslim school as a teenager in a Canadian suburb. "Mr. Khaki taught us with a straight face that Jews worship moolah, not Allah, and that their idolatry would pollute my piety if I hung out with them." A savvy kid, Manji would ask her teacher for evidence of his wild anti-Semitic allegations of Jewish conspiracies. He refused, telling her to either "believe or get out."

She was expelled from the madrassa—

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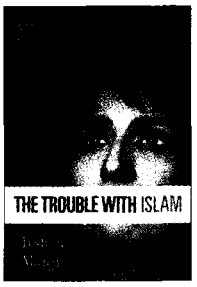
but her belief in God and in Islam remained strong. She became taken with the Islamic concept of *ijtihad*, a process of independent reasoning capable of adapting religion to changed circumstances. Her book is addressed to her fellow Muslims, and asks them to make use of their own faculties along these lines; and she shows how the tragedy of Islamic history is in large measure the result of a failure to allow rival interpretations to flourish. The temptation of power has usually been too great, even for nominal liberals; the author recounts, for example, that a ninth-century caliph of Baghdad declared that the Koran was not of divine origin—and then proceeded to persecute those who disagreed with his interpretation.

The West came earlier to the realization that truth and power did not necessarily inhere in the same persons—and this has made the West much more welcoming of positive change. In this regard, at the very least, Islam stands in desperate need of Westernization.

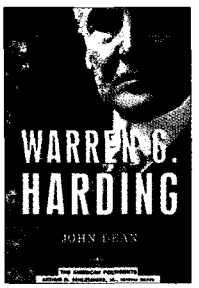
Manji is not afraid to place the blame for Islam's problems squarely where it belongs. "You know what I find instructive about [the fall of Moorish Spain]?" she asks. "That [it] didn't crumble because of ravenous Christians. Oh, sure, Christians scooped up the pieces, but the brutes who brought down Muslim Spain were Muslims. . . . Our problems didn't start with the dastardly Crusaders. Our problems started with us. To this day, Muslims use the white man as a weapon of mass distraction—a distraction from the fact that we've never needed the 'oppressive' West to oppress our own."



Manji's book is passionate and fascinating—a conversational romp through the world of Islamic history and practice, and a moving tribute to some of mankind's highest religious values. "Had I grown up in a Muslim country," she concedes,

> I'd probably be an atheist in my heart. It's because I live in [the West], where I can think, dispute, and delve further into any topic, that I've learned why I shouldn't give up on Islam just yet. After so much exploring, my personal interpretation of the Koran leads me to three recurring messages. First, only God knows fully the truth of anything. Second, God alone can punish unbelievers . . . Third, human beings must warn against corrupt practices, but that's all we can do to encourage piety and purity . . . Our resulting humility sets us free to ponder God's will—without any obligation to toe a dictated line.

This will be tough medicine for many of the world's Muslims; but it's the only way they will be able to save their religion from its darker angels.



■ Howard Husock is director of public-policy case studies at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. In his marvelous new book, *America's Trillion-Dollar Housing Mistake: The Failure of American Housing Policy* (Ivan R. Dee, 140 pp., $19.95), he provides a convincing case study of government gone wrong.

Husock argues that the effort over the past few decades to provide public housing for low-income Americans has backfired in a serious way. "Devoting government resources to subsidized housing . . . is not just unnecessary but also counterproductive. It not only derails what the private market can do on its own, but, more important, it has profoundly destructive unintended consequences. For housing subsidies undermine the efforts of those poor families who work and sacrifice to advance their lot in life." This demoralizing effect is often blatant: "The housing projects that dominate many urban neighborhoods radiate blight, rather than vitality, outward into their surrounding neighborhoods."

It's time, Husock contends, to phase out public housing and "make our housing policy consistent with the spirit of welfare reform." Over the short term, that means establishing time limits for tenants of public housing. (As Husock details, this has already been implemented with some success in Charlotte, N.C.) And it's equally essential to remove the regulatory restrictions—such as rent control—that are currently discouraging the free market from providing low-income housing. Husock's book is brief but pointed, an expert and realistic analysis of today's real urban problem.

■ In the short biography *Warren G. Harding* (Times, 202 pp., $20), John W. Dean of Watergate fame makes the case that the man often viewed as America's worst president has received an unfair rap. The savaging of Harding began very early: In 1920, the *New York Post* said the GOP's nominating him for president was "an affront to the intelligence and conscience of the American people." It picked up steam with the Teapot Dome scandal (in which Harding himself was not actually involved) and soon hardened into virtually unassailable conventional wisdom. Dean gives us instead a portrait of a hard-working and conscientious president genuinely devoted to fiscal responsibility; H. L. Mencken's famous vituperations against Harding are fun to read, but historical justice demands that we recognize Dean's Harding as the real one. **NR**

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■ CITY DESK ■

Space: The Final Frontier

RICHARD BROOKHISER

THE New York papers featured an unlikely year-end story: Patrice Moore, a 43-year-old Bronx man, was trapped for two days in his studio apartment when a decade of magazines, newspapers, books, and catalogs fell in on him. After the landlord became aware of his plight, cops and firemen spent more than an hour digging him out (he is okay). Mr. Moore was everywhere compared to Langley and Homer Collyer, brothers who were found trapped in their East Harlem brownstone in March 1947, amidst tons of junk including 14 grand pianos and an automobile chassis. The Collyer brothers were not okay: Langley had died in a booby trap he had set for burglars; blind and bedridden Homer had starved to death.

What hold do an outer-borough mishap and a weird tale of the Truman administration have on our imaginations? The fascination of motive, for starters. Hoarders are afflicted; in the signal-flare glow of their pain, passions seem ten feet tall. Many hoarders are motivated by love: They cannot bear to part with anything ephemeral, dilapidated, old. They see the kinship that human flesh has with broken umbrellas and last year's rent statements. Saving their stuff, they ask the honorable court to be spared themselves. It is a love born of weakness, however. Parents know, or should know, that children must pass through injury and loss. So must all creatures and things. Some injuries lead to growth; some don't. When our time has come, let us go.

Hoarders feel a fear more pressing than the fear of eventual death, and that is the fear of having no identity now. Young women, blooming, bombarded and anxious, may show their midriffs to a candid world, but they set literal limits on themselves in the form of tattoos and navel rings. The Collyer brothers weren't into belly buttons; their personal border control took the form of stacked newspapers and rotting groceries.

But our real interest in hoarders is our feeling as New Yorkers that we are all like them. Everyone everywhere has too much stuff, but in a city of inhabited stalagmites our stuff is ever present.

My wife and I live in a rent-stabilized two-bedroom apartment. This makes us urban gentry. Our high station entitles us to 850 square feet. How do we, and other New Yorkers, manage?

We put things inside of things, and put those things over or under other things. Our snorkel masks live under the bed. Emily Bronte and Edmund Wilson live over the bathroom door. The SATB edition of Handel's *Messiah* lives in a floor-level drawer with 12x12" cork tiles and three pairs of shoes. A fan, a VCR monitor, and four emergency candles live on a shelf over our hats and gloves. Laugh if you like, suburbanites. But imagine if everything in your basement, attic, and garage came in the night to your bedroom door like fugitive slaves and said, "Hide me."

After hiding has done its best, we spin off the rest. New Yorkers discovered back offices and outsourcing long before corporations found New Jersey and Bangalore. Our washers and dryers go in the apartment basement, or in the laundromat. Cars go in garages or on the street. Kitchens go to restaurants (we knew one young lawyer whose refrigerator was like an interrogation room for food: one six-pack, sitting under a bright white light). Coffee tables go to coffee houses. Exercise bikes go to the gym. Attention goes to the Internet.

Putting special thoughts or emotions on bound paper (i.e., books) does not work well in 850 square feet. My Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is a priceless but unwieldy resource. I have stacked it under a stereo table; it has fallen off its shelves. Its torn spines flap loose, decaying faster than I can tape them back together. Only EDW to FRA, and PAY to REE are unscathed. A few years ago, I bit the bullet and gave dozens of books away. Naturally, I wanted to look something up in one of them the next week.

But organize our lives and our space as best we might, each of us still has Collyer brothers pockets in some desk or chest or closet: unorganized and unexamined clusters of things that we cling to, imagining that they cling to us. Eighteen inches from where I type this, I found: a facsimile key to the Bastille (Lafayette gave the original to George Washington). A humorous Christmas card about the Terror War: A Delta Force captain in camo holds two wriggling Arabs; inside, the message says, "These Little Abduls do not make good pets. They bite and slash out with those dumb curvy swords and cut throats . . . " A personalized sheet of stationery I acquired as a guest at the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay; my name is in the upper right-hand corner in gold, *R. Brookehiser.* A letter from the Latvian ambassador, a man I came to know because in the '80s, when he was a journalist and Latvia was a Soviet republic, I developed an interest in Baltic independence; then it seemed like saving Confederate money. An invitation I had made for a birthday party. (I quoted Milton: "How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth, / Stol'n on his wing my three and twentieth year!" I crossed out three and twentieth, wrote twenty-fifth and crossed that out, wrote thirtieth and crossed that out. I was turning forty. That was nine years ago.) My high-school yearbook photo: brown hair! X-rays of an ankle and wrist, injured on an occasion I had completely forgotten. Then, over and over again, the dead: Mass cards; programs of Methodist and Presbyterian services; obituaries; letters of condolence; thank-you notes for letters of condolence. Some of the authors of these letters and notes have since joined the people we mourned. Deepest of all, dead emotions: letters from and to past loves. Generosity met with need, candor met with ego, trust met with self-interest. No wonder we wish to bury them. **NR**

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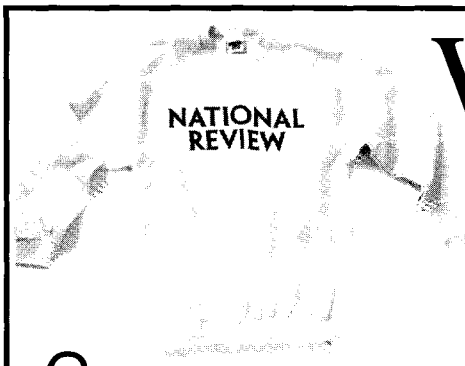

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on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Try Saddam?

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 17

WHAT on earth is it that we should want from Saddam Hussein? The *New York Times* set are going on about an exemplary trial which will vindicate international tribunal procedures, abiding by "the complex legal issues posed by this trial" (to quote one editorial); which can be done only using "specialists in human rights and war crimes issues." Oh yes, and it would be hard to get participation by lawyers from enlightened states if the trial were to permit capital sentences.

The baloney here is truly offensive.

Here is what we should want, from Saddam, live:

As much information as we can usefully get from him concerning the whereabouts of subordinate criminals from his regime. As also, what accounts he can give us of the preparations he had in mind for a future arsenal of war weapons, and what he knows of stratagems for concealing those that he had.

We should insist on priorities in the matter of his trial that transcend Ethics 101 courses on Proper Procedures in the prosecution of—criminals. We have three models here to inform us.

The Nuremberg trial (1945–46) was singular because none such had ever been done; because the setup of it was political (a Soviet judge, whose country had engaged in every crime the Nazis were being tried on, participated and had certain veto powers); and because, among the defendants, there were those who could conscientiously plead not guilty. Indeed, three were exonerated, so that was a call for judicial discrimination.

The Eichmann model was, once again, sui generis. He had been scooped up from Argentina, raising international political and legal questions. He was unquestionably criminal, but the recounting of the Holocaust story over a period of months served the purpose of reminding the world of the pandemic nature of Nazi guilt. The Israelis had abolished capital sentences. But, with a little nod at legal convention, reinstated it for the commendable purpose of giving the Israeli people a satisfaction not otherwise achievable.

The model in The Hague gives us Slobodan Milosevic as the star player. That action is in its third year. It has served only the purpose of encouraging equivocations, in which Milosevic is as accomplished as he was in executing a genocidal approach to ethnic cleansing. A truly balanced judiciary is at work here. Three judges of disparate backgrounds. One Englishman, one South Korean, and one Jamaican.

The very idea that Saddam needs the niceties of Blackstone's laws prescribing judicial procedure and the means of protecting the innocent is a surrender to epistemological pessimism: the notion that you can't ever really prove anything. Built into that nihilist surrender is doubt about first principles. If there is anybody in town who believes that Saddam is not guilty of crimes however described, what we need to worry about is him, not Saddam. The notion that we should be immobilized by the kind of skepticism that demands full-blown trials with judges from Jamaica and *amici curiae* from Russia and France tells us that a lot more is riding here than the fate of Saddam Hussein.

It isn't to ask for lynch law or even for victor's justice to say simply: This is a man who killed by the thousands and tortured his country, committing genocide north and south. His "trial" should be of the order we'd have given to Hitler if he had been taken alive. Exhibit him, make him dwell on what he has done, satisfy the Iraqis that we share their concern, and that having dispatched an army to their country to contain and disarm him, we will back the Iraqi court that sends him to the gallows. If anybody around wants to plead his cause, go ahead. There will always be fever swamps from which they can make their nescient calls.

Churchbound?

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 19

RUSH Limbaugh was talking about religion as also, that very day, Sean Hannity. One day earlier Christie Hefner was celebrating the 50th anniversary of *Playboy*.

Rush said listen to this, folks, Catholic voters tended over the years to go Democratic, but there has been a slide toward the GOP in recent elections, and one-third of Catholics are now thought of as swing voters. That means—Limbaugh discussed the point with a guest—that state and court action on the matter of gay marriage will certainly affect many Catholic voters, and if they view government as laggard on the question, they will continue to move to the right.

Hannity said that he was himself Catholic and that he attends a church which on Sundays is standing room only. He attributes this in part to God, but mostly to his pastor, who, says Hannity, is rigorous in his defense of Christian doctrines, forswearing temptations to truckle to modernism. He too thought that the evolution of the gay-marriage business would be politically important.

Christie Hefner was acknowledged by her host as the executive successor to her father, Hugh Hefner, the founder of *Playboy* magazine. She was asked what mostly was she proud about in *Playboy*, and she answered that her magazine had done a great deal to foster liberal ideas.

Playboy publishes much material (I have written extensively for it) unrelated to sexual matters, and although it is emphatically heterosexual, Limbaugh would be correct if he guessed that it would endorse gay marriage. The reason here is that the Playboy philosophy is permissive on all points that have to do with sexual predilections (though minors are not allowed). If the priest who addresses the congregation where Hannity worships speaks out against gay marriage, just hang on for a bit. Things will change.

And the Playboy philosophy has reason to believe it will be so. The Playboy Channel on television regularly displays scenes not even Abercrombie & Fitch would dare to put into their catalogues.

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Rush reminds us that we are a nation of churchgoers. Yes, that's true, if comparisons are being drawn to other nations.

What isn't so clear is that church attendance induces Christian behavior. This is the year in which that point struck home sizzlingly, when priests, not laymen, were detected doing dirty things with children. Sean Hannity acknowledges the especially depressing picture of pedophile priests, but of course the question becomes: Are churchgoers being correctly instructed on matters of permissible behavior?

David Morris of ABC News has a word on this point. "Even as they express admiration for the man, majorities in the Pope's American flock reject a variety of his teachings, say he hasn't influenced their views—even on religious matters—and see the Roman Catholic Church as out of step with their lives." Catholics practice birth control at about the same rate as non-Catholics. Sixty percent of Catholics say okay to premarital sex, and almost one-half say okay to homosexual relationships.

The clear winner on the scene is Hugh Hefner. Going to church has become one more exercise in permissive behavior. Go ahead on to church, but be careful not to get in the way of Playboyism when you step back from the church to—real life.

What can the Christian hope for? Well, as once ventured in another cloudy situation, God might clear his throat. That is a fine metaphor, God stilling the storm, raising someone from the grave, eliminating AIDS for Christmas. But the believer knows that it doesn't work that way. You must believe in miracles, but it is wrong to expect them. Besides, miracles would certainly be rejected as unconstitutional by People for the American Way. Merry Christmas.

Carnivorous Prophets

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 30

THERE is a great flurry on the question, Should competing presidential candidates speak about the weaknesses of other contenders? Howard Dean is at the center of the controversy because he chewed out Terry McAuliffe, the Democratic chairman. He told McAuliffe he should have used his good offices to get the other candidates to shut up about him. Everybody is now mad at everybody else but mostly at Dean. One mostly gets mad at front-runners.

I contribute an experience: In July 1987, I brought together in Houston all the Democratic candidates for president, for their first joint appearance. I enlisted as co-host Robert Strauss, who was the most revered, fair-minded (and humorous) Democrat on the national scene. We sat down surrounded by attentive and nervous courtiers and inquisitive members of the press. One of the following men would be nominated in 1988 to challenge the Republican successor to Ronald Reagan.

I had questions written for our *Firing Line* guests. They were Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, Joe Biden of Delaware, Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, Dick Gephardt of Missouri, Al Gore of Tennessee, and Jesse Jackson and Paul Simon of Illinois.

One of my bright ideas was to begin Hour #2 by asking each candidate to enumerate a weakness of the other candidates. As in, "Sen. Biden, Gov. Dukakis is contending for the same position you are and there are months ahead in primaries for all of you. What is a singular weakness of Gov. Dukakis in winning those?"

My co-chair Bob Strauss leaned over and whispered into my ear, "Brother Bill, you're not going to get anywhere doing this, you watch." Well of course, seasoned politico Brother Bob was correct. Sen. Biden was not about to say anything that drew attention to the weaknesses of Gov. Dukakis. Even if he had suspected, back then, that Dukakis would look silly wearing a helmet while riding in a tank, he didn't say so. Nobody during the entire hour would say anything derogatory about anybody else, stressing only his own superior qualifications and inchoate appeal to the primary voters.

Nothing of the sort in 2003! Dean's spurt to the head of the line using child-like magic-toy solutions to such questions as the containment of terrorists, the reform of the tax code, and the plight of education at first astonished such onlookers as Lieberman, Gephardt, and Kerry; and finally drove them quite mad. To share time in national forums with the thaumaturgist from Vermont, who with a bright and engaging smile waves his hand eastward and proclaims an end to the problem there by simply shipping our boys home, does two things to the other contenders. They want to say: *Stop! stop! stop!* The world doesn't work that way! There are terrible, ridiculous complications! etc. etc.

Their first defense against baby-talk political solutions was to carry on as they did in a half-dozen debates. But their frustration has led them to criticize Dr. Dean straight-out, and to enumerate and express contempt for his weaknesses.

So that for two weeks, Dr. Dean read the papers and turned on television and saw himself criticized trenchantly by the only candidates he cares about: Gephardt, Lieberman, and Kerry. So what did he think to do? Call Bob Strauss?

But Strauss, after a long life of public service, has retired. So he called Democratic party head Terry McAuliffe.

What is happening is that Dean's exhilarating nostrums have got the headier members of the young Democratic population absolutely carried away with enthusiasm. Is there any sound on earth more pleasing than END WAR? Or, ELIMINATE POVERTY?

It is, to be sure, easier to take in that kind of thought with deep draughts of toke, but I don't think Bob Strauss would have permitted us to do that in the company of Democratic contenders who are trying to find out why this sudden enthusiasm for Peter Pan. Probably Strauss would say what McAuliffe pretty well has to say. Nothing can interrupt the scheduled train of events. Reality may just decide to sit it out. Until November '04.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

"Sure, they have nine lives, but they spend eight of them asleep."

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Phenomenal

AMONG the instant clichés that sprang up after 9/11 was the notion that a "war on terror" is a meaningless concept. "It is misleading to talk of a 'war on terrorism,'" sniffed the distinguished British historian Correlli Barnett only last month. "'Terrorism' is a phenomenon . . . You cannot in logic wage war against a phenomenon, only against a specific enemy."

Most of us warmongers were inclined, if only in private, to agree with Professor Barnett. We assumed "war on terror" was a polite evasion, the compassionate conservative's preferred euphemism for what was really going on—a war on militant Islam, which would have been harder to square with all those White House Ramadan photo-ops and the interminable presidential speeches about Islam as a "religion of peace."

But here's the interesting thing. Pace the prof, it seems you *can* wage war against a phenomenon. If the "war on terror" is aimed primarily at al-Qaeda and those of similar ideological bent, it seems to have had the happy side-benefit of discombobulating various non-Islamic terrorists from Colombia to Sri Lanka. This isn't because these fellows are the administration's priority right now, but rather because it's amazing what a little light scrutiny of international wire transfers can do.

Pre-9/11, almost every country was openly indifferent to terrorism's global support network. In my own native land, Canada, financial contributions to terrorist groups were tax deductible. Seriously. As part of the repulsive ethnic ward-heeling of the multiculti state, Liberal Party cabinet ministers attended fundraisers for the Tamil Tigers, the terrorist group that's plagued Sri Lanka for two decades. These guys are state-of-the-art terrorists: As the old song says, they were self-detonating before self-detonating was cool. In 1991, they used a female suicide bomber to kill Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian prime minister, and, until the intifada, they were the market leader in "martyrdom operations." It's somehow sadly symbolic of the general third-rate nature of Palestinian "nationalism" that even its signature depravity should be second-hand.

But oddly enough, Canada's indulgence of Sri Lankan terrorism became part of its defense against American accusations that the Great White North was a soft touch for terrorists. If you pointed out the huge sums of money raised in Canada for terrorism, Ottawa politicians would roll their eyes and

Tigers (not from Detroit)

patiently explain, ah yes, but most of that's for the Tamils or some such; nothing to do with Osama, nothing Washington needs to get its panties in a twist about. As if destabilizing our Commonwealth cousins in the Indian Ocean had mysteriously become an urgent Canadian policy objective.

They were doing what most of the rest of us were doing—buying into the conventional wisdom that the "war on terror" was the war that dare not speak its name. But, funnily enough, intentionally or not, the Tamil Tigers wound up getting caught in the net. Their long campaign reached its apogee in a spectacular bloodbath at Sri Lanka's principal airport two and a half years ago, a couple of months before 9/11, back when nobody was paying attention. By February of last year, they'd given up plans for an independent Tamil state and their chief negotiator in London was suing for peace on the basis of some sort of regional autonomy. It's an uneasy truce, but tourists are returning to the island and the Tamil stronghold of Jaffna is being touted as "the new Phuket" (the Thai resort beloved of vacationing Brits).

You can find other examples of long-running local conflicts around the world from Burundi to Nepal that seem to have mysteriously wound down over the last two-and-a-quarter years. Might be just coincidence. Or it might be that putting the bank transfers of certain groups on an international watch list has choked off the funding pump for a lot of terrorism. Even nickel-and-dime terrorists need nickels and dimes, and in your average war-torn basket-case state that usually means fundraising overseas.

Professor Barnett was wrong when he wrote that "you cannot in logic wage war against a phenomenon, only against a specific enemy." Sometimes the phenomenon is the enemy. Germany's Baader-Meinhof Gang trained in Saddam's Iraq. The IRA has ties to Qaddafi and to Colombian drug terrorists. Even the old line that my enemy's enemy is my friend doesn't quite cover these alliances: Saddam was pally with the Germans, and Gerry Adams and Co. have friends in high places in Washington who wouldn't take kindly to the IRA's Hispanic outreach. What drew these people together is the phenomenon: the mutual lack of squeamishness about blowing the legs off grannies in pizza houses. In that sense, they've more in common with the international piracy and slavery networks of two centuries ago, as the president implied in London in his tip of the hat to the Royal Navy for stamping out the slave trade. The so-called idiot figured it out quicker than the smart guys: In the days after September 11th, he was shrewd enough to identify the real enemy and declare war on it.

Two years on, in all kinds of tiny corners of the globe you never hear about on CNN, the bad guys are feeling the heat. **NR**

ANURUDDHA LOKUHAPUARACHCHI/REUTERS

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The Price of Empire

In his new book, The Sorrows of Empire, Chalmers Johnson argues that the United States now dominates the world through its military power. He describes how the U.S. garrisons the globe with a vast network of more than 700 military bases, located on every continent except Antarctica. All this, he says, constitutes a new form of empire.

The price paid to build and maintain this empire is great. One cost is the loss of major portions of the U.S. industrial base. The deal is simple: If other nations will support U.S. military and foreign proposals, the United States will concede all or parts of its major industries in exchange.

In the 1970s, for instance, the United States quietly agreed to ignore its anti-trust laws while a Japanese cartel ravaged the U.S. consumer electronics industry. Japan was considered too important an ally in the Cold War to risk offending. Today, the United States has no consumer electronics industry.

In the 1980s, a similar deal was made with Japan on machine tools. Today, the U.S. machine tool industry is a remnant of what it was 20 years ago.

In the 1990s, the United States gave away much of its apparel and textile industries in exchange for other nation's agreement to the global trade agreement that created the World Trade Organization. When the deal was signed in 1995, the U.S. had almost 1.6 million apparel and textile jobs. Now, it has fewer than 700,000.

These examples are neither unique nor isolated. One consequence is the U.S. must import what it no longer can make, thereby creating massive trade deficits. In 2003, the U.S. trade deficit will exceed $500 billion.

Another consequence is the loss of U.S. jobs. Over the past three years, the United States has lost almost 2.8 million good-paying manufacturing jobs.

Paradoxically, foreign policy deals that swap away the U.S. industrial base actually weaken U.S. security. Many of the electronics and other high-tech components used in U.S. weapons systems, for example, are designed and manufactured in other countries, such as China. They may be unreliable suppliers in any future wars, even adversaries.

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Differences in American and European Worldviews

Russell A. Berman is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Walter A. Haas Professor in the Humanities at Stanford University.

Rather than viewing European anti-Americanism solely in terms of current policy disputes, we must look at our deep-seated cultural differences. According to *Views of a Changing World*, a study conducted by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, **Americans and West Europeans advocate very distinct philosophical stances, especially regarding matters of individual responsibility and the role of the state.**

Asked to evaluate the statement "Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control," 32 percent of the Americans polled agreed, in contrast to 48 percent in England, 54 percent in France, 66 percent in Italy, and 68 percent in Germany. Less than a third of Americans view their lives as defined by external forces, implying that the majority see the world in terms of individual responsibility. Meanwhile, Europeans minimize individual responsibility and attribute much greater importance to outside forces. Whereas Europeans tend toward a deterministic worldview, Americans focus on individual freedom.

The survey also measured how public opinion chooses between two competing values: the value of the freedom of individuals to pursue goals without state interference and the value of a state guarantee that no one be in need. Fifty-eight percent of Americans, a significant majority, chose freedom from state interference as the most important goal. This result stands in stark contrast to Europe, where freedom earns support at dramatically lower rates: only 39 percent in Germany, 36 percent in France, 33 percent in England, and a paltry 24 percent in Italy. Whereas Americans are predisposed to understand their lives in terms of individual responsibility and reject greater state regulation, Europeans, by and large, take the opposite position: They view their lives in terms of larger social forces and expect the state to protect them from need—even at the price of a restriction of their freedom. No wonder current domestic politics in most European countries involves the difficult task of reforming firmly entrenched welfare-state systems.

Not surprisingly, **the cultural difference between Americans and Europeans has significant foreign policy ramifications**. The American worldview of individual responsibility underpins an insistence on national sovereignty. In contrast, Europeans—especially the French and the Germans—tend to support restraints on the power of individual states. The lesson they take away from the two world wars is that curbs should be placed on individual states to prevent them from pursuing selfish interests. As a result, European states are gradually ceding elements of their sovereignty to the superstate of the European Union. In contrast, the United States has repeatedly demonstrated its reluctance to cede such authority to international bodies.

This is the cultural basis for the debate over multilateralism and unilateralism. In practice, the difference is, of course, hardly absolute. Although European politicians insist on international cooperation, they typically continue to pursue national interests. Whereas the American leadership insists on the right to act independently, it has appealed repeatedly to the United Nations for support. Nonetheless, the significant differences in American and European worldviews are likely to cause political rifts long after the current battles, such as Iraq and Kyoto, have faded.

—Russell A. Berman

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